

Māori Perspectives of
Disaster Recovery in Hawke's Bay

by

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Abstract

Understandings of disaster recovery are being enhanced by an increasingly diverse range of perspectives. In order to incorporate these perspectives, they must be adopted within a culturally-appropriate approach. This thesis presents a series of Māori perspectives on disaster recovery in the context of two significant disaster events in Hawke's Bay, New Zealand. It charts the conceptual evolution of disaster recovery, in doing so recognising that fuller approaches to recovery may be achieved through the use of a cultural context. A Māori world view serves as the cultural context into understanding how indigenous approaches, knowledge bases and motives contribute to making sense of the recovery process.

Central to a Māori world view is the concept of mana, often taken to mean 'authority' or 'prestige'. Its arguably ineffable nature does not lend itself to being closely studied. The thesis thus explores the viewpoint that disasters are considered a loss of mana; while recovery accordingly entails the restoration of mana.

These themes are explored through case studies of the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake and the 1986 Whakatū Freezing Works closure. Both are markedly different disaster events that had profound impacts on Māori. On this basis, examining recovery on Māori terms affords a deeper appreciation of the concepts at hand.

The thesis employs a mix of oral interviews and secondary data analysis to present a series of Māori perspectives on recovery. Findings uncover unique insights to recovery in respect of both case studies. A conceptual basis for understanding mana in disaster recovery is also established.

It is hoped that by shedding light on the Māori world view in the context of disaster recovery, this thesis may develop understandings of the role that different and indeed unconventional world views have in disaster recovery at large.

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List of Māori Words

The list below is provided for reference. Some Māori words do not have a single English language equivalent. In most instances, the English equivalents are often synonymous with each other. In other instances, Māori words have metaphorical interpretations which the English equivalents do not always adequately encompass. These conventions will be discussed in further detail in the main body of the thesis when the words are first encountered.

A brief note on orthography—some Māori words contain macrons (i.e. pūrākau), which today is the most conventional system of denoting an elongated vowel sound in written Māori. Prior to the latter half of the twentieth century, systems of denoting such distinctions were either sporadic or not used at all. Macrons are used here in order that the reader may be aware of such differences (e.g. the difference between *mana*: ‘authority; prestige; etc’, and *māna*: ‘will’ is more than orthographical).

Māori	English
aituā	<i>disaster; misfortune</i>
hapū	<i>kinship group</i>
iwi	<i>tribe</i>
kaitiakitanga	<i>guardianship</i>
karakia	<i>incantation</i>
kaupapa	<i>principle, approach</i>
mana	<i>fellowship; authority; prestige; stature</i>
manaakitanga	<i>hospitality, ethos of care</i>
mātauranga	<i>Māori knowledge; culture; values; world view</i>
marae	<i>courtyard, the space in front of the whareniui</i>
mōteatea	<i>chant; lamentation</i>
noa	<i>ordinary</i>
pātaka kai	<i>food pantry</i>

pūrākau	<i>legend</i>
rangatira	<i>chief</i>
rū(whenua)	<i>(see 'Rūaumoko')</i>
Rūaumoko	<i>Māori deity of earthquakes; accordingly, 'rū' is the Māori word for earthquake</i>
tapu	<i>sacred, potentiality</i>
Te Ao Māori	<i>'The Māori World'</i>
Te Ao Mārama	<i>'The world of light'</i>
tikanga	<i>custom, practice</i>
tohu	<i>sign</i>
waiata	<i>song</i>
wairua	<i>spirit</i>
waka	<i>canoe</i>
whakairo	<i>carving</i>
whānau	<i>family</i>
whareniui	<i>meeting house (lit. 'large house')</i>
whenua	<i>land</i>

Place Names

Ahuriri	<i>Napier</i>
Heretaunga	<i>Hastings</i>
Te Matau-a-Māui	<i>'The fish hook of Maui'; Cape Kidnappers</i>
Te Whanganui-a-Orotū	<i>'The large harbour of Orotū'; Napier Inner Harbour; Ahuriri Estuary</i>

Tribal Localities

Ngāti Kahungunu are the principal tribe (iwi) of Hawke's Bay.

Chapter One:

Introduction

In the last four decades, the academic field of disaster studies has undergone numerous conceptual developments, much to the ongoing interests of researchers, practitioners, humanitarian organisations and civil authorities alike (Baird, O’Keefe, Westergate & Wisner, 1975; Kates & Pijawka, 1977; Aysan & Davis, 1993; Cannon, 1994; Paton & Johnston, 2001; Gaillard & Mercer, 2013). In most respects, the fundamental bases for disaster research have remained constant. Studies typically have the aim of identifying a disaster, what caused it, and what can be done about it. Early disaster studies often made a scientific approach (Baird et al., 1975). Generally speaking, their intentions were to understand the nature of the hazards that cause disasters, in order that technical solutions which could potentially mitigate their harmful impacts be applied.

While the merits of technical, hazard-focused approaches in disaster studies continue to be well recognised, social scientists have sought to invigorate the field by incorporating human aspects (Cutter & Finch, 2008; Alexander, 2013). Emphasis accordingly shifts from the hazard or phenomena perceived to have caused a disaster, and instead looks towards the people and the communities that have been affected by it (e.g. Gaillard & Mercer, 2013). This approach gives attention to factors which make a community vulnerable to disaster, their capacities to cope with it, and the risk with which they live on an everyday basis. These aspects subsequently help to reveal human potential in the face of adversity.

This basic theoretical evolution of disaster studies is often expressed in this dichotomy, with the ‘old’ hazard-focused paradigm being superseded by the ‘new’ vulnerability paradigm (Cannon, 1994; Gaillard & Mercer, 2013; Jackson, McNamara & Witt, 2017). With such an evolution comes the difficulty of contending with and reconciling markedly different perspective bases. Disasters inevitably affect and concern a range of stakeholders. When ordered hierarchically, the base level typically comprises ‘locals’, specifically, the individuals,

households and communities affected by disaster. This include groups that are considered to be at the margin of society, such as prisoners, indigenous people, the elderly, and people with disabilities. At the top level, governments and regional authorities are usually tasked with providing assistance to those affected, as well as maintaining civil order during what are undoubtedly stressful and uncertain circumstances for all concerned.

Reckoning with different stakeholders' needs and interests is a present issue in disaster studies. Research has matured enough that the value of incorporating social factors into understanding disasters and their impacts on societies is well acknowledged (Cutter, Boruff, & Shirley, 2003). However, the extent that this occurs in practice is determined by an array of contextual circumstances. One example is that in spite of the continued advocacy for the contributions of 'locals' to be realised, there is a perception that the scientific and technocratic approaches are somehow more valid (Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster Reduction, 2011; Gaillard & Mercer, 2013). Their outcomes provide formalised and measurable data that subsequently informs governments' and authorities' decision-making capabilities with respect to managing a disaster.

The tendency to rely upon technocratic measures can be to the detriment of the so-termed local voice (Gaillard & Mercer, 2013). In these instances, local knowledge, or locals' contributions in general, may sometimes be dismissed as hearsay or insignificant (Mercer, Kelman, Taranis, & Suchet-Pearson, 2010; Gaillard & Mercer, 2013; Hikuroa, 2017). Local knowledge is not subject to the same rigours as the knowledge from more technical bases. Its hasty dismissal can overlook a potentially valuable and indeed unconventional cultural context of a disaster-affected community. An exploration of the cultural context may therefore provide insights into how the aforementioned communities confront disasters, as well as elucidating their own perceptions and beliefs as to what constitutes a disaster in the first place.

In that respect, and in order that preconceptions of the term 'disaster' are not bound by a rigid definition, it is essential to challenge and broaden what is meant by it. A geographers' definition of disaster is given as "the spatial and temporal conjunction between the occurrence of a natural hazard and a vulnerable human society" (Gaillard et al., 2007, p. 257). Whilst this definition is generally adequate, hazards encompass much more than natural events and can also include,

for example, political, economic, technological, and biological hazards (Wisner, Blaikie, Cannon, & Davis, 2003; Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster Reduction, 2011). Focusing beyond solely natural occurrences thus establishes that disasters are the consequences of harmful effects on a vulnerable community, and that they are triggered by a hazard of any basis (Wisner et al., 2003). The ‘liberalisation’ of what constitutes a disaster is crucial in the broad scope of this thesis.

The concept of recovery, as a subset of disaster studies, provides a temporal basis for discerning the present characteristics of the vulnerability paradigm, along with their enduring value. Accordingly, the approach shifts away from studying disasters and their characteristics *in vitro*, towards embedding them within the social, economic and political fabrics of a given community. This is based on the assumption that recovering from large disasters often takes years or decades, and that present approaches do not sufficiently capture the enduring effects that disasters have upon vulnerable societies.

In substantiating this assumption, there is still the need to adequately and authentically account for the perspectives which have had little exploration in studies of recovery. To understand the customs, principles, traditions, values and concerns which motivate a society in its everyday life all require an appreciation of the cultural bases upon which they are constructed. This is most often achieved through a conception of a world view. In general terms, world views help recognise broader differences among societies through characteristics such as kinship, perceptions of nature, and land use activities.

When compared with the drivers of the so-termed Westerners’ way of life, the different characteristics of world views are most apparent amongst indigenous groups. In the scope of this thesis, indigenous refers to a society that has developed an affinity with a given place, usually by virtue of living there for many centuries. In New Zealand, the Māori brought with them the principles and customs of their Polynesian homeland. Over the course of some 600 years, they adjusted to the terrains and inclemency of New Zealand’s environment, as well as the multitude of changes brought about by European settlement in the nineteenth century.

Naturally, the way of life for Māori at large has changed markedly in this time. In many respects some changes are permanent; such is the case when one system of living is essentially

superseded by another. However, there are fundamental cultural and spiritual elements which are still present within the everyday lives of Māori today. Approaching recovery through the 'lens' of a Māori world view may therefore serve to recognise conceptions of everyday life as they are tested against the stresses of disaster. It may also broaden the scope of what is recognised as an authoritative and legitimate perspective base, in order that social science research in disaster studies does not become parochially bounded.

To this end, Māori perspectives of disaster recovery are explored in the context of the Hawke's Bay region, on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. Recovery from disasters is a timely matter of concern in New Zealand given the recent earthquakes in Canterbury in 2010 and 2011, and in Kaikoura in 2016. The present-day character of Hawke's Bay has been shaped by a major earthquake which struck the region in 1931. Although the earthquake and its significance are generally well-documented, little is known about its events from a Māori perspective. Some 87 years on, the 1931 earthquake makes for a relevant case study in the overall approach of this thesis.

At this stage, it is appropriate to mention that the overall approach of the thesis was aided substantially through the chance inclusion of a second case study. On 10 October 1986, the pastoralism industry of the Hawke's Bay region was disrupted by the unexpected closure of the Hawke's Bay Farmers' Meat Company in Whakatū, a suburb of Hastings. Impacts of the closure were felt in Whakatū as well as throughout the region.

The Whakatū Works' closure makes a relevant case study for this thesis because it typifies the broad definition of disaster (Wisner et al., 2003). At the time of the closure, the Whakatū Works was the largest freezing works operation in New Zealand. The closure attracted nationwide public attention, and the subsequent effects it had on the industry and the communities that depended on it were felt throughout the region.

The concepts of recovery, livelihoods and world views are appropriate in their broader applicability and scoping of disaster studies today. The geographer is presented with a fascinating but serious insight into the realm of peoples' everyday lives in the face of adversity. It is intended that this thesis may offer theoretical contributions to advancing the concepts at large, as well as play a formative role in their potential convergence.

The Hawke's Bay Region

Located on the east coast of the North Island, the Hawke's Bay region is bounded to the west by a series of complex terrain, including rugged hills, mountain ranges and alluvial plains (Farrell, 1952; Yule, 1958). To the east lies the coastline of the Pacific Ocean. The tectonic setting of the region is characterised by an active subduction zone known as the Hikurangi Margin (Ansell & Bannister, 1996). The region is thus prone to earthquake events.

The administrative boundaries of Hawke's Bay stretch from rural townships such as Mahia and Wairoa to the north, and Waipukurau and Porangahau to the south. In the centre of the region lies a conurbation of Napier and Hastings; their respective city centres are approximately 20 kilometres apart. Napier and Hastings are the principal urban sites within the region, and are where most of the region's governance is upheld.

Economically, much of the present land use in Hawke's Bay is devoted to primary industries such as fishing, farming and winegrowing. These industries were established after European settlement in the region during the middle of the nineteenth century. Their successes are aided by the region's abundance of natural resources, its suitable climate, and a consistent domestic and international demand for products such as meat and wine. Recent Census data have recorded agriculture, forestry and mining as the top industry in Hawke's Bay, comprising 17 percent of the total employee count for the region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

The Hawke's Bay region has a substantial proportion of Māori. 24.3 percent of the region's total population identify as belonging to the Māori ethnic group, compared with 14.9 percent for New Zealand as a whole (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Māori origins in Hawke's Bay can be traced back to the arrival of a fleet of waka (canoes) on New Zealand shores in around 1350 AD. Kahungunu, the grandson of Tamatea-Arikinui who commanded the Tākitimu waka, was said to have travelled on foot from Turanga until his arrival and eventual settlement at Ahuriri (Mitira, 1972). Turanga and Ahuriri are the Māori names for present-day Gisborne and Napier respectively. Many Māori in Hawke's Bay claim descent from Kahungunu, a claim reflected in the iwi (tribe) name Ngāti Kahungunu (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b).

The present day character of Hawke's Bay can be largely attributed to a major earthquake which struck the region on the morning of the 3rd of February 1931. The 1931 earthquake is

often considered to be one of New Zealand's most significant disasters associated with a single natural hazard event in the last 150 years (Callaghan, 1933; Wright, 2006). The earthquake killed 256 people and severely damaged buildings and infrastructure throughout the region. Napier and Hastings were amongst the worst affected because they comprised a built-up, densely populated area. Consequently, most of the fatalities from the earthquake were due to being either struck by, or trapped beneath building rubble. Rural hinterlands suffered considerably less structural damage by comparison.

Accounts on survivors' experiences and recovery from the 1931 earthquake have been preserved through various media (e.g. Galloway, 1931; Orr, 1959; Wellwood, 1968; Childs, 1984; Preston, 2006; Llewellyn, 2015). These are maintained through the collective efforts of historians, archivists, researchers and survivors' families alike. Although the value of these cannot be doubted, there appears to be little on record about the earthquake and its impacts from a Māori perspective. As Taylor states in his book 'The Miracle of the Ahuriri Lagoon' (1940, p. 1):

Woven into the story, also, is something of the Māori atmosphere that has always shrouded this once prolific fishing ground and its historic islets. The full story of its legends has yet to be told; there is not space here, nor need, for a history so deserving of being fully recorded.

On the basis of Taylor's statement, it can be assumed that the lack of records concerning the recovery of Māori from the 1931 earthquake is due in some respects to a relatively unexplored recognition of everyday life as conceived by Māori prior to the disaster. Another possible reason is that such accounts of Māori everyday life are unavailable, perhaps because they were never committed to writing. They would more likely have been made and transmitted through the spoken word. It is therefore optimistic to suggest that such knowledge would have been passed on to future generations in order that it is not lost. In any case, it is an avenue of enquiry that may help this thesis further discern the present day social fabric of Māori in Hawke's Bay.



Figure 1. Administrative boundaries of the Hawke's Bay region, North Island, New Zealand (Source: d-maps.com).

Thesis Approach and Chapter Outline

The basic idea for this thesis emerged from a broader study funded by the New Zealand Earthquake Commission (EQC). The study, titled 'Exploring long-term disaster recovery trajectories in New Zealand', is a joint venture between Auckland, Massey, and Victoria

Universities in New Zealand. Work for the study began in April 2016, and at the time of writing, is expected to continue until December 2018. The EQC-funded study is intended to contribute to the fields of geography, psychology and economics, as well as inform national policies concerning disaster recovery. The concurrence of this thesis and the EQC-funded study is mentioned for two reasons. The first reason is to acknowledge that the thesis has benefitted logistically from such an association. Field work for both studies was conducted essentially at EQC expense. The second reason is to assert that despite both studies being similar in their subject matter, this thesis very much has its own purpose and its outcomes are not intended to reflect the motives or opinions of the EQC.

Chapter Two reviews the literature relating to the three broad concepts of relevance to this thesis. Recovery reflects the aforementioned paradigm shift in disaster studies, along with the subsequent move towards formulating initiatives from a greater range of stakeholder perspectives. Recovering from large disasters can take years or decades, yet it has traditionally been conceived to follow a series of stages so-termed the emergency management period, which unfolds in the weeks and decades following the initial disaster (Kates & Pijawka, 1977). This conception of recovery has since moved towards more enduring and globally-recognised measures, which are not always to locals' benefit.

At an international level, recovery is often expected to align with principles such as sustainable development and build back better. These are mandated by humanitarian and aid organisations such as the United Nations (UNISDR, 2009), and are intended to provide means of assistance such as funding, resources or manpower, some or all of which may be beyond the immediate capabilities of an affected community. The principal limitation of these approaches in the greater scope of recovery is that their efficacy is largely determined by the attention given by a humanitarian organisation to an affected community. Conversely, it is suggested that the opportunity for stakeholders to recover from disasters by their own initiatives is inadequately recognised.

A focus on recovery may therefore be made through the concept of livelihoods. In a similar vein to recovery, current literature on livelihoods aligns with principles of sustainability. It is again argued that approaches on this basis may distort perspectives to the detriment of the

'local' voice. A conceptual framework (Gaillard & Cadag, 2009) schematising the role of livelihoods in approaching disaster recovery, and the inter-relation between resources deemed to comprise peoples' and communities' livelihoods is reviewed. From this framework it is suggested that conceptions of recovery and livelihoods may be further enhanced by incorporating a cultural context in the overall approach.

The cultural context is thus established through the concept of world views. A world view approach essentially involves applying a 'lens' to a given assemblage of people who share common values, traditions, customs and practices. In keeping with the subject matter of this thesis, the cultural lens of te ao Māori (the Māori world) is introduced. An exploration of the fundamental components of a Māori world view is made with reference to some disaster studies literature that have provided initial insights into these components' epistemological means and significance.

The methodology of the thesis is discussed in *Chapter Three*. The chapter adopts a culturally rich approach to establish the methods employed throughout the thesis. Literature discussed in this chapter argue that indigenous epistemologies ought to be recognised for their own merits and on their own bases (Said, 1985; Smith, 2012), in order that their understanding be consistent with the demands of more wholesome approaches to disaster studies. The chapter reviews a mix of historic and contemporary sources by way of discerning the evolution of research approaches involving or concerning Māori.

Chapter Four provides a contextual overview of the two case studies used in the thesis. It has been basically established that the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake and the 1986 Whakatū Works closure are markedly different events. Accordingly, they both require an appreciation of the social, economic and political conditions that were in place prior to the disasters' occurrences. The aim of this is to embed the earthquake and Works closure within the broader social fabric of Hawke's Bay. The chapter notes what studies have been made on the respective disasters. Particular emphasis is placed on Māori perspectives, or a lack thereof, in order that there is a solid basis to explore these case studies in light of this thesis.

The findings of the thesis are presented in *Chapter Five*. They mainly comprise the accounts and recollections of Māori kaumātua (elders). They are subsequently classified into three broad themes which convey their overarching significance with respect to disasters.

Accounts from kaumātua are corroborated by the perspectives of two key informants with expertise in Māori cultural matters. The consultation of key informants is made in order that the information collected may be lent an academic weighting. It also provides a conceptual basis for advancing the understanding of the kaumātua accounts which comprise Parts I and II of the findings. Part III therefore serves as both a report on the material collected through the study, as well as a discursive analysis of the material at hand with an emphasis on mana.

Chapter Six discusses the findings with respect to the wider literature at hand. It draws on some of the literature discussed in Chapter Two, in particular the literature on livelihoods. It compares the livelihoods framework from Chapter Two with the framework schematised in Part III of Chapter Five. On this basis, discussions are made concerning continuity and change as emphasised in Chapter Two. By returning to the established literature, the chapter allows for further considerations to be made concerning Māori spirituality and epistemology. Finally, some brief reviews of mana being brought into account in the public sphere, such as in governance and environmental management, are made.

The thesis concludes by reflecting on the value of the thesis to disaster studies at large. It reviews the substantive contributions of each chapter. It identifies some of the constraints that have limited the thesis with the thought that they may compel further research.

Chapter Two:

Disaster Recovery:

A Conceptual Overview

The conceptual evolution of recovery reflects the aforementioned paradigm shift within disaster studies. To understand the specific implications of this evolution, to identify gaps, to develop strategies that assist communities affected by disaster, to discern the motives behind peoples' decision-making, and to establish a theoretical framework for the thesis at large, it is essential to appreciate the different perspectives by which recovery is presently conceived. This chapter initially charts the basic conceptual evolution of recovery, beginning with its original schematisation within the broader emergency management framework. Subsequent developments in its conception are explored, along with the intrinsic dynamics of stakeholder co-operation at various scales.

On these bases, the chapter reviews the concept of livelihoods, the aim of which is to essentially assess the performance of different recovery strategies. An existing conceptual framework for livelihoods is reviewed, by way of illustrating the complexities within its approach, as well as the subsequent need for a cultural context. Accordingly, the chapter examines the general concept of world views before focusing on the fundamental components of a Māori world view. It establishes an ontological and epistemological basis for theorising recovery within an appropriate cultural context. In summary, the chapter conveys that recovery, livelihoods and world views are interlinked concepts, which together may provide a solid theoretical foundation to be applied throughout the remainder of the thesis.

Conceptual Origins

Present-day conceptions of disaster recovery can be traced back to an early study by Kates and Pijawka (1977). Through an examination of earthquakes in urban environments, their study was among the first to schematise recovery as entailing a series of complex processes which,

depending on the scale and magnitude of the initial event, take years or decades to occur. This schematisation is illustrated in Figure 2.

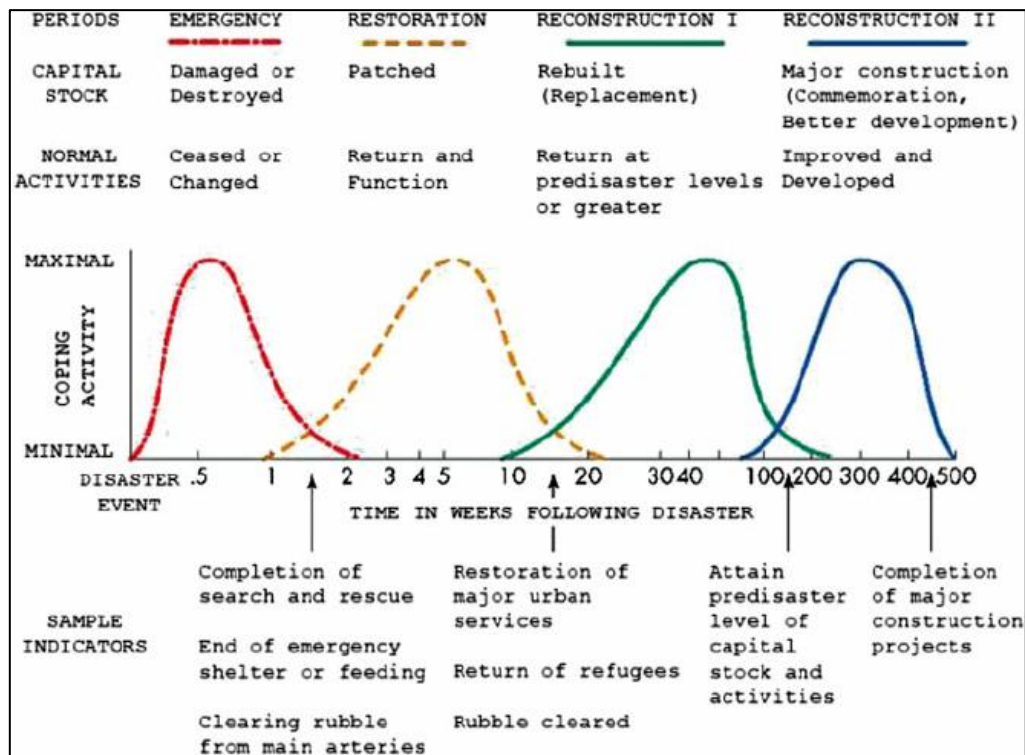


Figure 2. Conceptual model schematising temporally four phases of disaster recovery across 500 weeks (~10 years) from the initial event (Source: Kates and Pijawka, 1977).

The model depicts temporally a series of distinct phases, namely: the emergency period; restoration period; replacement period; and development period. Each phase is classified according to the condition of capital stock, as well as the functioning of normal activities within a disaster-affected community. ‘Capital stock’ in a disaster-related context can refer broadly to the economic, natural and social assets of an affected community (Kates & Pijawka, 1977; Aldrich, 2012). In Figure 2, each phase of the model is distributed according to the time taken to reach peak coping activity, and the subsequent time taken for activity to diminish. The distribution illustrates that the latter phases occur over several years after the initial disaster event.

In this respect, Kates and Pijawka’s (1977) study was instrumental in establishing the theory recovery is just as much a process as it was a perceived objective of overcoming disaster. Of note to the study was the conclusion that economic determinants were significant to the speed

and perceived success of recovery in a disaster-affected community, and that poorer community members would likely face more difficulties in their recovery (Kates & Pijawka, 1977; Alexander, 2008).

Given the maturation of disaster literature over the last four decades, the recovery model, as well as Kates and Pijawka's (1977) study at large both make for an interesting retrospect. In a review, Alexander (2008) notes that the study emerged during a time when geographers were giving more attention to the social and economic disparities within different communities. The increased attention was in turn attributed to a growing public and academic awareness of disasters and their consequences (Alexander, 2008). Attempts to reckon with these disparities were made by elucidating the concepts of power and marginalisation. These concepts are entrenched in the present-day disaster studies field, and are discussed further throughout the chapter.

A principal criticism of Kates and Pijawka's (1977) recovery model is that it does not account for local variations in the rate of recovery (Hogg, as cited in Alexander, 2008). The model classifies capital stock across the four recovery phases, but it appears not to consider capital stock or its condition prior to the disaster event occurring. To that effect, local variations would encompass factors, for example, its social and political arrangements, its economic drivers, land use, and access to resources. These and other factors essentially comprise the geographic context of a particular community (Alexander, 2008).

Another criticism of Kates and Pijawka's (1977) model is the assumption that recovery unfolds as a linear process. Alexander (2008) notes that in some instances, certain phases in recovery took to occur than what the model accounted for. There was also the possibility of some phases regressing; Alexander (2008) uses a case study in Sicily where the conceived rebuild phase regressed because a series of overambitious building schemes could not be met (p. xvi). Other circumstances, for example, an unexpected change or deterioration in the aforementioned geographic context, for instance, a sudden loss of resources, or the occurrence of another hazard event may all countermand the assumption of linearity provided by the model. In essence, these circumstances contribute to the overall complexity of conceptualising recovery at large.

A further and arguably more enduring criticism of the model is that it is often associated with the so-termed 'command and control' approach by which traditional recovery strategies are perceived to follow. Recovery from a command and control approach is often associated with an emergency management framework (McLoughlin, 1985; Cutter et al., 2008). In such cases, the approach entails governments and civil authorities taking the initiative in response to a disaster event. Recovery strategies are usually based on post-event needs assessments carried out by authorities immediately after a disaster has occurred (Cuny, 1983; Davis & Alexander, 2015). The ad-hoc nature of this approach largely overlooks the underlying social, political and economic fabrics of a disaster-affected community, in which case the recovery process is hindered.

Further to the argument against the command and control approach, the overarching reliance upon governments and authorities as top level stakeholders in the recovery process consequently overlooks the needs and desires stakeholders at the base level. These stakeholders essentially comprise the 'locals'; the individuals, households and communities affected by disaster. It is crucial to discern locals' stake in the recovery process because it is they who construct and influence the social, political and economic fabrics in which they live and interact. There is an assumption here that governments' and authorities' attention towards a disaster-affected society tends to diminish in the months to years following the initial disaster event (Hill & Gaillard, 2013). This is a reasonable assumption on the basis that, for governments, other administrative and political concerns will inevitably take priority. For the locals in such a scenario, the implication is that they will be confronted with the outcomes of the command and control approach and decision-making, regardless of whether such outcomes are favourable or not.

By providing agency to the stakeholders at the base level, it is intended that recovery initiatives and strategies move beyond the command and control approach, towards an approach that comprehensively accounts for the diversity and authenticity in the contributions of stakeholders at large.

Recovery and Development

The further conceptual evolution of disaster recovery is marked by its incorporation within the field of development. Development in the context of recovery may be regarded as both a discipline and a practice. In these respects, recovery thus concerns the motives of academics, practitioners, and humanitarian organisations, all of whom have a role in assisting communities with overcoming the challenges posed by disasters. It is suggested that recovery provides these stakeholders an opportunity to foster disaster risk reduction through an increased awareness of disaster risk (Cristoplos, 2006; Davis & Alexander, 2015). An intention of this is to improve the conditions of disaster-affected societies, in doing so address the shortcomings of the aforementioned ‘command and control’ approach.

Given the field of development primarily concerns the role of humanitarian aid globally, disaster risk reduction practitioners are presented with and encouraged to adopt a number of all-encompassing principles which serve to guide them in their approaches (O’Brien, O’Keefe, Rose & Wisner, 2006; Mercer, Kelman, Taranis & Suchet-Pearson, 2010; Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster Reduction, 2011). These principles are accordingly reflected in the terminology. As an example, the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (2009) define recovery as:

The restoring or improving of livelihoods and health, as well as economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets, systems and activities, of a disaster-affected community or society, aligning with the principles of sustainable development and “build back better”, to avoid or reduce future disaster risk.

The tagline ‘build back better’ first emerged following the earthquake and tsunami on December 26 2004, a disaster event which affected many countries around the Indian Ocean (Kennedy, Ashmore, Babister & Kelman, 2008). It is suggested that ‘build back better’ requires an initial appreciation of the cultural context of the disaster-affected community. To that end, stakeholders’ interpretations of ‘better’ may not always be in alignment. Kennedy et al., (2008) provide an example where the use of traditional building methods by the locals on Aceh was not regarded by disaster relief practitioners as building back ‘better’. In the example, the practitioners that facilitated reconstruction did so on the basis of what they had observed in the

use of traditional building materials and structures, that had in fact been superseded by contemporary building practices which were more durable in the face of natural hazards (Kennedy et al., 2008, p. 28).

In another example from Aceh, difficulties were faced in finding a balance between the security of the affected communities' livelihoods and considering the implications of recovery decisions on the environment. It is considered that this difficulty was not resolved as the recovery process occurred too rapidly, thus necessitating the need to acquire resources which were not available locally (Kennedy et al., 2008, p. 27).

The examples from Aceh highlight that outcomes of decisions made without a fuller or appropriate consideration of the cultural context or the local availability of resources to carry out recovery can disrupt the affected communities' livelihoods, and hinder the overall recovery process.

Livelihoods, Marginalisation and Power

Livelihoods as a distinct concept serves as a lens through which to recovery approaches can be assessed. Livelihoods is defined comprehensively in Chambers and Conway (1992, p. 6) as:

... [comprising] the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term.

Livelihoods thus defined refers to the capacities of a given community or society to meet the basic needs of life. In its role as a conceptual lens, livelihoods is essentially a means of rooting recovery approaches and strategies in the everyday lives of communities affected by disaster. It forms a basis of understanding that a disaster event should not only be viewed as case study in isolation; it is also a marker upon the overall history and social organisation of the community affected by it. It is as much appreciating that the outcomes of recovery actually

endure beyond the typically conceived ‘recovery period’ as acknowledging the significance of the disaster event in itself (Regnier, Neri, Scuteri & Miniai, 2008).

The *in vitro* nature of conventional recovery approaches has led to inconsistent outcomes for the lives and livelihoods of communities affected by disaster (Barenstein & Leeman, 2012). Such instances are most often due to lack of consideration given to the everyday needs of the communities prior to the disaster event. The capacities to meet these needs are understood through communities’ social, political and economic fabrics. On this basis, it is established that disasters merely exacerbate deficiencies in the capacity of a community to meet its everyday needs.

These deficiencies are characterised by the concept of marginalisation. Wisner (1993) refers to marginalisation as a process whereby a group of people ‘at the margin of society’ are pushed to the limits of subsistence with a given population. Essentially, a group that is marginalised faces ongoing difficulties in meeting the necessities of everyday life. It is noted that a marginalised group is not necessarily poor; it most often implies the inability to access resources, which is not a precursor of wealth. (Wisner, Gaillard & Kelman, 2012).

The processes of marginalisation in respect of pre-disaster vulnerability are schematised in a livelihoods framework by Gaillard and Cadag (2009; Figure 3, p. 18). The framework reinforces the process whereby marginalisation is exacerbated when the vulnerabilities which exist prior to disaster are not addressed. The framework classifies the vulnerabilities across six resources, namely: natural, human social, physical, financial and political. For each of these resources it is indicated that a disaster event brings about an immediate need, its fulfilment crucial in order that the resource necessary to maintain livelihoods is secured.

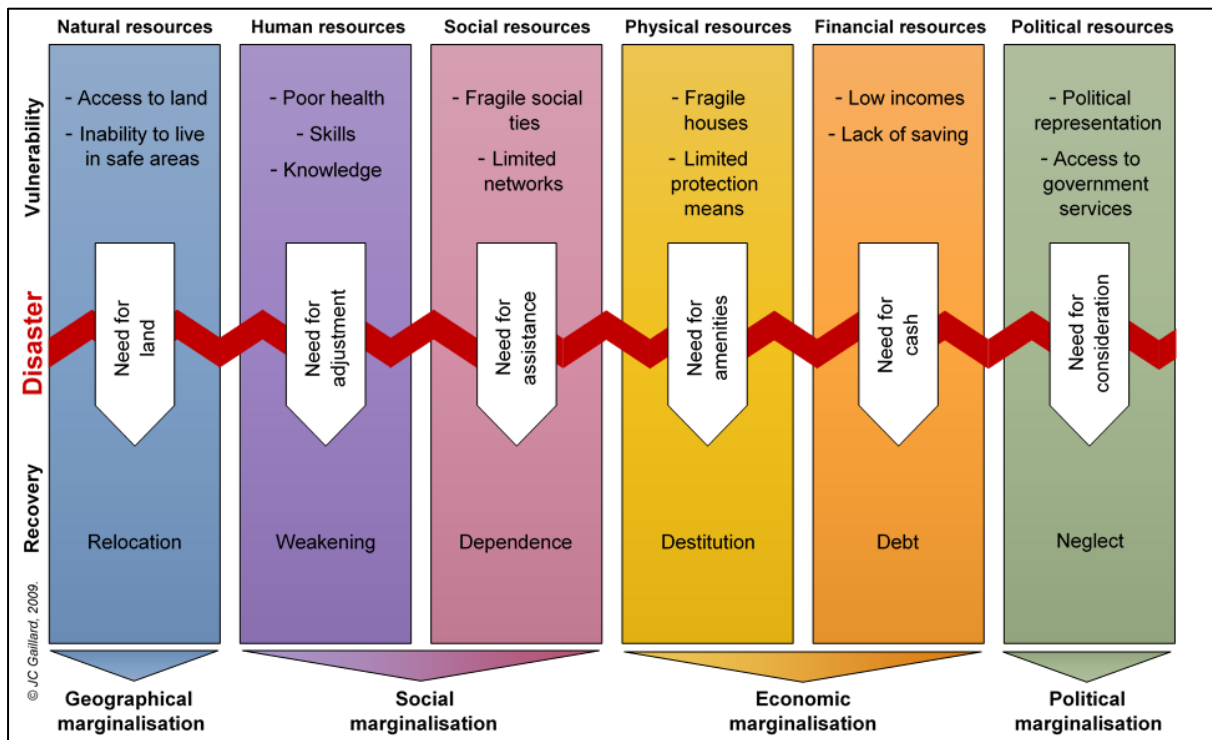


Figure 3. Conceptual framework of livelihoods schematising marginality and marginalisation from pre-disaster vulnerabilities (Adapted from Gaillard & Cadag, 2009).

The conceptual framework by Gaillard and Cadag (2009) is limited in that it does not account for any overlaps across the resources. They are classified in such a manner that allowances are made for overlaps. Classification of this nature may focus only upon a single resource, at the risk of skewing the process accordingly. Another limitation is that the framework does not make indication of how the immediate needs which emerge through a disaster event are to be met, nor the varying abilities for disaster-affected communities to do so.

The overarching limitation to the aforementioned conceptual framework is the lack of cultural context. Culture is a necessary consideration to make in respect of understanding recovery, particularly if the aim is to appreciate the social, political and economic fabrics embedded within a community. Culture in the context of Gaillard and Cadag's (2009) framework, culture may inevitably be manifested within the six classified resources, but its present conceptualisation may not achieve an understanding if the resources are classified in a distinct, non-overlapping manner.

Alexander (2008) substantiates the need for recovery to incorporate a cultural context (p. xvii):

In most cases the necessary cultural analysis is accomplished purely intuitively. In fact a more precise approach would require some estimation of the historical underpinnings of a particular culture, together with this pliability in the face of the onslaught of the modern mass culture.

On this basis, it is suggested that a cultural context can help enrich understandings of disaster recovery through discerning the motives and values of a community in facing adversity.

World Views: Cultural Context

Human nature lends itself to constant and vivid enquiry concerning the origins of life. Whilst this a hefty task in itself, it is one which the geographer is compelled to undertake in an academic setting. This is reflected through the practice of the inter-related disciplines of epistemology and ontology. According to Lowenthal (1961, p. 260):

The surface of the earth is shaped for each person by refraction through cultural and personal lenses of custom and fancy. We are all artists and landscape architects, creating order and organising space, time, and causality in accordance with our apperceptions and predilections.

Lowenthal's statement is evocative in prose and may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it signifies that culture is a means of shaping reality and everyday life—the various 'lenses' through which different factions of society operate conveys the notion that not one perception of reality is the same. Secondly, Lowenthal encourages the geographer to look at their own presumptions of reality, in order that they can fuller appreciate the manner in which different cultures the world over produce an understanding of space and place.

Epistemological studies have to a considerable extent been spurred by the narrative of challenging a dominant or conventional perspective base (Foley, 2003; Quanchi, 2004). This approach aims to elucidate what are largely regarded as obscure and untapped histories, often created and produced in ways incomprehensible to 'Western' eyes. Here the inverse holds true; and indeed it is not to say that the West is devoid of culture. However, people are so accustomed to their particular way of life, their understanding of reality, that it is easy to overlook the intricacies of other perspectives (Lowenthal, 1961). From a geographical and wider academic

standpoint, exploring unconventional epistemologies offers novel and stimulating ways of understanding knowledge and history, at the same time adding a legitimacy to a perspective base which would otherwise have not been considered.

This study does not intend to become preoccupied with the deep philosophy behind space-making. It is nevertheless a necessary consideration to make because it helps the geographer appreciate the multitude of realities perceived across different cultures. Blaser (2014) contends that “the problem space can then be characterised as the dynamics through which different worlds and ontologies bring themselves into being and sustain themselves even as they interact, interfere and mingle with each other” (p. 55). World views operate in a dynamic space, and advocating for their recognition reflects ongoing political contentions (Louis, 2007). In the overall subject matter of this thesis, indigenous epistemological approaches towards understanding recovery have not been widely explored.

Te Ao Māori: Māori World View

Broadly speaking, Te Ao Māori comprises a set of principles, values and customs as perceived and practiced by the Māori people of New Zealand. The present condition of Māori is the result of cultural intertwinement with Europeans (Pākehā), mainly of British extraction, who first made landfall in New Zealand some two hundred and fifty years ago (Buck, 1958; King, 1992). Amongst other societies whose lands were settled on by a larger, dominant group, Māori have come to grips with the advances and indeed pitfalls of Western civilisation. In the early twentieth century, attempts to put on record the traditional Māori way of life and the implicit values within the culture were made by the likes of Elsdon Best (e.g. Best, 1927), Apirana Ngata (e.g. Ngata, 1929), Maui Pōmare (e.g. Cody, 1958), and Peter Buck (e.g. Buck, 1910; 1958).

Through the evolution of everyday life amongst Māori, a ‘Māori world view’ of today is monolithic. In many respects it has departed from its traditional beginnings (Prytz-Johansen, 1954; Buck, 1958; Marsden, 2003a; Sadler, 2007). Much of its evolution has come from continued exposure to the outside world and was thus an inevitable process. However, there are undeniably cultural and spiritual elements of a Māori world view which remain significant today. In this section they are examined as a series of broad themes, namely: kinship, language,

and oral tradition. Examining them in such a manner aids in documenting how they have changed through to the present day, in identifying parallels in the epistemological foundations of other cultures throughout Polynesia, and in establishing present conceptualisations of a Māori world view with relevance to disaster studies.

In a traditional Māori world view, the notion of kinship establishes that all things on earth are connected (Royal, 1998; Marsden, 2003a). It goes beyond the conventional relationships between people to also encompass the natural environment and its features, such as land, mountains, and water. The origins of such an all-encompassing system of living are nested in the narrative of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), the primal deities who were joined together in a continuous embrace (Marsden, 2003a; Walker, 2004; Hikuroa, 2017). Rangi and Papa bore numerous offspring, who, in the confines of their parents' embrace, grew restless at not being able to develop and mature. One son, Tanenuiārangi, pushed his parents apart, releasing them from their union, subsequently allowing the light of day to enter the world. This sequence of events is often referred to in Māori oratory along the following lines (Marsden, 2003a):

Tihei Mauri ora	<i>The breath of life</i>
Ki te whaiao, ki te Ao Marama	<i>Into the world of light</i>
Hui e! Taiki e!	<i>Come together! Unity!</i>

These lines are most often recited in whaikōrero, formal speech, by way of drawing to mind the origins of life from a Māori perspective. The preceding narrative has been heavily abridged, presented here to demonstrate how Māori traditionally conceived the origins of the world in which they lived.

In a Māori world view, the significance of kinship and oral tradition are inter-related. Given that Māori did not have a written language prior to European settlement in New Zealand, the spoken word was highly valued. In traditional tribal units, a member who possessed excellent oratory skills was highly desired to help run the affairs of the tribe (Buck, 1958). Oratory was thus a necessary performative means by which to pass on the cultural customs, values and principles in order that their understanding could be achieved. The ritualistic elements of

traditional Māori culture and way of life are cemented in the spoken word (Kāretu, 1992; Marsden, 2003a).

Māori Perspectives in Disaster Studies

At a conceptual level, Māori perspectives of hazard reception, response and recovery have received emerging attention. Of recent significance, Hikuroa's (2017) study sought to establish a theoretical basis for mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) as a system of understanding the world developed within the principles of a Māori world view as it was prior to Pākehā settlement. Mātauranga Māori essentially comprises a codified knowledge base, transmitted through oral tradition. Oral tradition was vital to the transmission and survival of cultural knowledge (Sadler, 2007; Lee, 2008; Hikuroa, 2017). Consequently, the practice of passing down such knowledge was just as significant as the contents of the knowledge itself.

The codified nature of mātauranga Māori epitomises what scholars and historians regard as the embellishments of Polynesian epistemology. Sir Peter Buck remarked during a civic reception in 1949 that, "The Māoris and Polynesians are fond of using indirect language, and really, it's more fun to use indirect language because you can interpret it in many ways" (1971). Codified knowledge from a Māori world view manifests itself in performative means, such as legends pūrākau (legends), waiata (songs), mōteatea (chant), and karakia (incantation). These are metaphorical interpretations used to make sense of a particular event or phenomena as it was observed or experienced. For instance, Hikuroa (2017) refers to a legend involving a taniwha (supernatural being) in the form of a lizard residing in the Waitepuru stream at Matata, in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand. It is said that the sighting of a taniwha is typically a sign of danger. Hikuroa (2017) contends that the pūrākau of the taniwha of Waitepuru serves two purposes: firstly, it helps explain the geomorphology of the stream. Secondly, the legend was taken into account when locating the site of four marae in Matata. When Matata was struck by debris flows in 2005, none of the four marae was affected despite widespread damage to homes and other buildings in the village (Hikuroa, 2017).

As another recent example, King et al. (2017) made a series of geochemical and archaeological studies in order to establish evidence of historical tsunamis in the area of Mataora-Wairau Lagoon, in the South Island of New Zealand. Their scientific analyses were prompted by a

local legend of a taniwha, referring to a significant loss of life as a result of waves impacting the communities which lived there. In this legend, the taniwha caused a surge of water which would strike those who occupied the area. The legend, coupled with archaeological evidence of early Māori occupation, lends credible evidence of historical tsunamis and sea surges affecting the communities that lived there (McFadgen, 2007, cited in King et al, 2017, p. 13).

The studies by Hikuroa (2017) and King et al. (2017) provide examples of pūrākau conceived prior to European settlement in New Zealand. They have been shared down the generations to ensure their remembrance and survival. They aid in charting the sequence of events which have led to the present condition of Matata and Mataora-Wairau Lagoon respectively. In both cases, the legends of taniwha were constructed through direct observations and hypotheses; their sightings were correlated with a subsequent event—often a sign of impending danger.

Narratives such as these do well to reinforce Buck's (1971) remarks on the indirectness of Māori language. Interpretations of a metaphorical nature may be easily dismissed when not understood. In the bare face of a Māori world view, mātauranga served as a construct employed by Māori to make sense of the world around them (Royal, 1998; Marsden, 2003b; Hikuroa, 2017). They also applied humanistic qualities to features of the natural environment, essentially personifying them. According to Buck (1958, p. 512):

In New Zealand, as well as in Polynesia, personification was a convenient process to apply to natural phenomena, or the physical features of the country, and such personifications were also mated to produce other personifications. They were endowed with a spirit by the very fact of personification. However, most of them remained as abstract conceptions, and such tribal gods as have been deemed personifications were probably deified ancestors who were provided with a natural phenomenon as a symbol or aria.

The personification of natural phenomena reinforces the broader notion of kinship within a Māori world view. As mentioned previously, kinship encompassed not only the physical and social relationships between people, but also the spiritual affinities people had with the natural environment. The taniwha referred to in Hikuroa (2017) and King et al. (2017) would

undoubtedly have been respected for their ‘belonging’ to the natural environment just as much as they were feared.

The mindset of nature having personal qualities forms the basis of a principle known in Māori as *kaitiakitanga*. In English its closest approximation would be ‘guardianship’ (*tiaki*: ‘to guard’). It is essentially a duty-bound obligation to care for the natural environment and protect it from misuse. *Kaitiakitanga* first came into widespread use in 1991 with the introduction of the Resource Management Act (RMA) into New Zealand legislature. In this manner, the RMA sought to recognise Māori cultural values with respect to the environment, along with guardianship over resources such as native forests and *kaimoana* (seafood) (Marsden, 2003b, p. 55). Marsden (2003b) sheds further light on the purpose of *kaitiakitanga* by likening it to a child caring for its mother: as a mother provides a child with nourishment and nurture, so too does nature provide the same for people (p. 66). By that reckoning, a duty of care from child to mother—or people to nature—should be expected in return.

Different manifestations of *mātauranga Māori*, along with examples are classified in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Classifying forms of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge), their Māori terms and English equivalents (adapted from Hikuroa, 2017), with examples from various literature.

Māori Terms	English Terms	Examples in Literature
<i>Pūrākau</i>	Stories	Taniwha to explain occurrence of natural hazard events (Hikuroa, 2017; King et al., 2017)
<i>Waiata</i>	Songs	Kenney & Phibbs (2015)
<i>Mōteatea</i>	Chants, poems	Ngata (1929)
<i>Karakia</i>	Incantations	Buck (1958)
<i>Whaikōrero</i>	Oratory	Karetu (1992)
<i>Maramataka</i>	Calendar	Tāwhai (2013)
<i>Whakapapa</i>	Genealogy	Sadler (2007)

A Māori Conceptual Framework of Recovery

Most notably, Kenney and Phibbs (2015) present a framework which brings together Māori knowledge (mātauranga), cultural practices (tikanga), and values and principles (kaupapa) as a cultural basis to understand disaster recovery. The framework was schematised in light of their study on recovery of Māori communities from the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes. It sought to determine the extent that Māori cultural principles guided affected communities in their recovery. The framework is illustrated below in Figure 4.

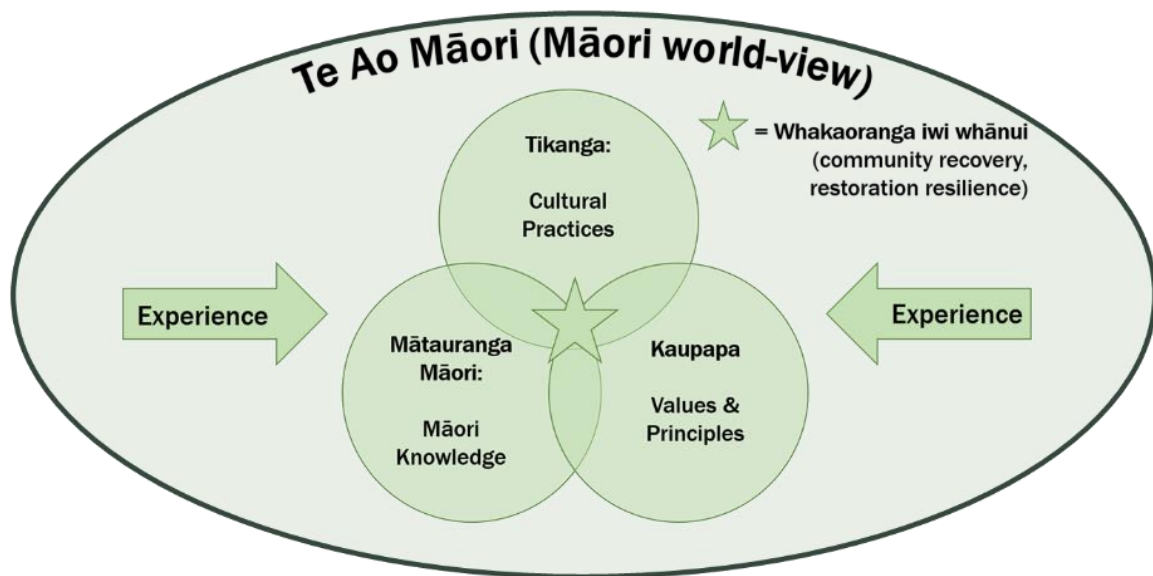


Figure 4. Conceptual framework for Te Ao Māori schematising mātauranga (knowledge), tikanga (practices) and kaupapa (principles) and their convergence towards community recovery (Adapted from Kenney & Phibbs, 2015).

The trifecta of cultural knowledge, practices and principles merge into a process which Kenney and Phibbs (2015) have termed as ‘whakaoranga iwi whānui’, or ‘community recovery’ (Figure 4). The framework also illustrates that these three elements are influenced by everyday lived experiences. The framework as initially schematised in Kenney and Phibbs (2015) did not include the Te Ao Māori ‘ring’; I have added this after the fact to make clearer the role of a Māori world view in constructing the framework. The strength of Kenney and Phibbs’ (2015) framework is its potential to produce contextually accurate account of the principles and practices employed by Māori communities following disasters.

Mana

Amongst all that is considered ‘holistic’ or ‘all-encompassing’ within a Māori world view, there is arguably one principle which underlies all other aspects of the world view, and which accordingly warrants specific recognition. Mana is a term for which not one English word can fully capture its meaning. Some of the closest approximations include ‘power’, ‘prestige’, ‘authority’, and ‘stature’ (Bowden, 1979; Keesing, 1984; Marsden, 2003a). Marsden’s (2003a) account on mana refers in the first instance to an ‘authority derived from the gods’. In this instance, humankind is essentially an agent of mana. They have authority and power to act according to the gods. Their authority comes from a higher being, and to that end the way in which they live their life is guided by mana.

By Marsden’s (2003a) reckoning, if mana is arranged into a hierarchy, then the celestial, or divine sources would be at the top level. Buck (1958) provides a distinctly more terrestrial account from traditional Māori social organisation. A chief of a tribe would often be regarded as having ‘great mana’. He inherited such mana from the gods by order of his birth. He was accordingly thought to be the ‘vessel’ of mana from which the rest of his tribe derived their will to function in everyday life (Buck, 1958). The mana of a tribe was rooted in the mana of its chief; the trials and tribulations of the chief were therefore shared by the rest of the tribe. The mana of a chief would be further enhanced by his successful governance over the tribe, along with prosperity from such endeavours as warfare and conquest (Buck, 1958, p. 346). The effects of illness or death upon a chief would resound across his tribe and give cause for great lament. Buck’s (1958) explanation of chiefly mana reinforces the English-language approximation of ‘prestige’. In essence, a prestigious chief correlated with a prestigious tribe. The inverse also held true.

The celestial and chiefly bases of mana have been made clear. From them it can be discerned that mana derived from a higher source, be it a supernatural being or a high-ranking chief, essentially gave the ‘ordinary person’ a guided purpose to function in their everyday lives. But for Māori today, the social organisation of old has changed. In the modern world, the multitude of influences which drive peoples’ perceptions of life mean that not every Māori subscribe to a single paradigm. However, fundamental elements of a Māori world view remain relevant

today. An understanding of the knowledges, values and practices which fashioned the lives of Māori in the past can and have been used to inform the present.

From a research perspective, mana has offered a fascinating avenue of study in learning about Māori and wider Polynesian livelihoods. In 1954, Danish anthropologist Prytz-Johansen made a study of the spiritual aspects of traditional Māori life with relevance to modern day understandings. In it, he regarded mana as ‘a kind of fellowship’ (p. 76) by which Māori were able to create a pattern of living. By this reckoning, the mana of a people is inextricably linked to the mana of land, since in the traditional Māori paradigm all living things are connected. Moreover, mana as a guiding principle for everyday life is not static, but manifests itself in the actions and motivations of people, and as a result is constantly changing.

Mana and its Potential Relevance to Disaster Studies

Prytz-Johansen’s (1954) interpretation of mana as a ‘kind of fellowship’ is still relevant today because it bears no reference to a specific chief, deity, or bygone social organisation. For Māori, the impetus for fellowship remains constant, but the means of achieving it have and will undoubtedly continue to adjust with the ever-changing conditions and stresses of everyday life. This forms the basis of an interesting implication for the role of mana in recovering from disasters. Given that disasters disrupt the patterns of everyday life, it is possible that the role of mana may be explored to discern how disaster recovery is understood and carried out from a Māori perspective.

Conclusion

In view of the limited space to cover a wide range of literature, this Chapter has attempted to convey through a series of broad themes, the significance of disaster recovery and livelihoods along with the theoretical bases of world views, with specific emphasis on a Māori world view and mana. Kates and Pijawka’s (1977) model (Figure 2, p. 12) represented the initial step in conceptualising recovery as a process which unfolded over many years. Its main shortcoming was it did not account for deeper-rooted factors, such as social and economic differences, thus affecting the ability for a community to recover from disaster.

Some studies have tried to address this shortcoming by articulating the significance of everyday life in disaster recovery through the broader concept of livelihoods. At present, a livelihoods

approach affords the opportunity for practitioners to identify the array of resources necessary to the functioning of individuals', households' and communities' everyday lives (Gaillard & Cadag, 2009). In doing so the intention is to come up with adequate and enduring measures for people affected by disasters to re-establish their stricken resources and return to everyday life as soon as possible. With such an intention comes the argument that recovering 'well' from disaster must find an appropriate balance between continuity and change. It is suggested that such a balance is necessary to sustain and to enhance the social and political fabrics of the stricken community.

The conceptual framework for livelihoods reviewed in this Chapter (Gaillard & Cadag, 2009) does not provide a cultural context to recovery. An appropriate cultural context may cover the unique means employed by communities to recover from disaster, as well as shed light on their own perceptions of everyday life in marked contrast to conventional 'Western' perceptions which tend to dominate recovery approaches. Te Ao Māori has received some attention in disaster literature, but not in concern with long term recovery. Fundamental elements of a Māori world view, such as kinship and oral tradition are still relevant today because they very much comprise the patterns of everyday life for Māori communities. They are also necessary for preserving the values, principles and customs which have guided Māori of old through times of hardship.

The principle of mana underlies the cultural and spiritual aspects of a Māori world view. Given the interpretation that mana is 'a kind of fellowship' (Prytz-Johansen, 1954; p. 76), it is undoubtedly a principle which underpins the everyday lives of Māori today, though not always explicitly so. It also provides a potentially fascinating gateway into determining the extent of the role that mana has in generating, understanding and imparting Māori perspectives of disaster recovery.

The conceptual evolution of recovery can be viewed most obviously through a dichotomy, whereby the conventional 'management' approach is superseded by a 'development approach'. This succession seeks to incorporate a greater range of stakeholder attitudes, motives and contributions in formulating recovery initiatives.

Chapter Three:

Research Methods

To now, we have laid the theoretical groundwork for disaster recovery and the Māori world view. They stand alone as broad subjects and have been widely debated in their respective fields. They have proven difficult to succinctly theorise because of the array of ideas and opinions people hold to them. They are also fallible to the difficulty of confronting theory with practice. The reality of disaster recovery is laden with uncertainty, both for the people affected and for the authorities tasked with assistance. Disasters cause great physical and social upheaval, they cut across different aspects of people's lives, and their effects endure for years to come (Alexander, 2008; Alexander et al., 2008). No amount of conceptualising or idealising can account for uncertainty, neither could the discussion on the Māori world view in Chapter 2 hope to be a full record of every fine detail within indigenous frames of mind. It did however try to explore and articulate the characteristics which underpin the way Māori saw the world, and present them in a meaningful light. Therefore, by bringing the subjects of disaster recovery and indigenous world views together, a valuable research opportunity emerges, that could contribute to better disaster recovery trajectories.

This chapter moves from the theoretical foundations into discussing how these concepts have been brought together. The first part of the chapter devotes attention to explaining the underlying mode of thinking which has shaped my particular approach to this study. This 'methodological framework' is set from an indigenous point of view, which Smith (1999) argues is necessary to fully consider the culturally-rich knowledges and histories which Western perspectives do not always take into account. It also draws on historiography and ethnography. The former is employed to give a New Zealand context for better understanding how histories and understandings of disaster recovery from the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake have been constructed. The latter draws from my own personal observations and encounters during my fieldwork in Hawke's Bay. The second part of the chapter covers the methods and tools used in the thesis, as well as the data collected. The third part explains how the data were

collated into a dataset and analysed with respect to the thesis objectives. Further methodological considerations, specifically researcher's positionality and ethical considerations are also discussed. It is hoped that this thesis may, in a small way, bridge the present gap between disaster recovery and incorporating indigenous perspectives.

Methodological Framework

As mentioned earlier, the main approach of this research derives from Smith (1999), whose work argues the need for indigenous knowledges, histories, values and customs, to be considered within an appropriate and meaningful setting. Smith's main critique of 'convention' rests in questioning the dominant power relations which permeate different facets of society. In disaster recovery this manifests itself most notably through the emphasis on technocratic ideas, contributions, and solutions, with a focus on outputs formalised and measurable. Though put forward on the basis of goodwill or good intentions, these approaches come at the expense of the potential contributions to be made by the less powerful, on the margin of society. The process of 'decolonisation' therefore entails realising the need to taking an approach that comes wholly from an indigenous framing (Smith, 1999).

This way of thinking ties in with the sentiments echoed in the works by the noted Māori scholars often referred to in previous chapters (e.g. Ngata, 1929; Buck, 1958). We can espouse from chapter 2 that through the varied life's work of these men, emerged a common aspiration for the Māori world view and indeed Māori culture to be taken seriously and for its own merits. Yet Māori points of view not gaining widespread acceptance is still a present issue. There are two reasons as to why this may be the case. Firstly, it could be attributed in part to activism and efforts for cultural resurgence being seen as rebellious, where established institutions within society feel threatened (Walker, 1990). This sort of reaction has led to Māori claims of grievance and injustice being dismissed. Secondly, it could be attributed to the incongruity over how various elements within Māori way of life (e.g. kaupapa or tikanga) can be defined and practically applied (Mead, 2003; Royal, 2003). This is a valid point, and it is baffling to expect widespread understanding of a culture, in part or whole, to be achieved if there is no consensus from within the culture itself.

To that end, these criticisms suggest that valid cultural recognition for Māori should begin with validity among Māori themselves. Ascertaining this validity is itself a challenge which poses far beyond what this thesis could cover, as it bears effects upon every corner of Māori life. In the case of academia, Smith's (1999) calls for decolonisation as part of what can be termed as 'indigenous research' may surely resound with aspiring practitioners.

Realising the potential of indigenous principles, knowledge and practice rests partially on the shoulders of researchers themselves. Achieving this entails a researcher drawing from their own experiences and reflections, gathered through the undertaking of their own academic endeavours (Louis, 2007; Battiste, 2011). In what is perhaps best described in airy and un-academic terms as a 'soul-searching', the process of undertaking indigenous research is just as much of an endeavour as the outcome is.

Williams (2016) draws a link between indigenous research and indigenous 'search', suggesting that researchers from indigenous backgrounds are fortunate in that their academic pursuits present an invaluable opportunity to learn and reflect upon their own place in the world. This adds a personal element to the process. These thoughts here also fall under the wider banner of positionality, which will be further explored toward the end of the chapter.

Though the prospect of undertaking an indigenous search is promising, there is still the need to design a research process that is academically rigorous. To reiterate, recovery is a complex social process which takes many decades to fully unfold. This aligns with qualitative research which is by nature, diverse and multifaceted (Gray, 2009). Researching these processes therefore produces information which is qualitative in nature. Qualitative data, by extension, is information based on people's perceptions, attitudes, opinions and values, gathered in a field setting (Gray, 2009). It provides rich descriptions of events and phenomena in a given context. For this thesis, qualitative data provided varied accounts of the Māori world view in the context of disaster recovery.

Case studies in qualitative research give an authenticity to the overall research design by allowing for repeatable and legitimate studies (Gray, 2009), although there is a tension when the research is concerned with a serious issue as with disasters and recovery. We saw in chapter 1 that there is a tendency among researchers to undertake research in a disaster-stricken area,

by way of attempting to make the most of a popular or recent event (Gaillard & Gomez, 2015). This tension can be expected with other real-world occurrences of a disruptive or distressing nature.

This thesis allayed these concerns by employing the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake as a case study. Though a major event of a national scale at the time and indeed still in public consciousness in the present day, there are still people living with first-hand knowledge of the earthquake. Yet it was also long enough ago that as a research site, it poses none of the worries concerning distress or meeting immediate needs which recent events of a similar scale would have. The exception to this would be in raising unpleasant or upsetting memories with participants, which is discussed further in the section on ethical considerations.

Gray (2009) notes that "qualitative analysis is (or should be) a rigorous and logical process through which data are given meaning" (p. 493). Consequently, the analysis of data should be done in a way that the data remains true to the research objectives, while at the same time offering thoughts that move beyond this particular research, such as making connections with broader themes or offering pathways to further research. These such ideas help in placing the overall research into a wider context.

With all this written in cold blood, we are left with the matter of incorporating indigenous values into wider qualitative research. This is a contention which is difficult to wrestle with as there is little methodological guidance beyond the very relevant points by the likes of Smith (1999). Historiography and ethnography are accepted qualitative research methods and lend an academic rigour to the process. At the same time they align with Smith's (1999) contentions of challenging established norms; in the case of historiography, analysing and critiquing the construction of histories, and in the case of ethnography, bringing in a personal embodiment into research.

Historiography

Historiography is mainly concerned not with the history itself, but with the ways in which history has been recorded and imparted. It involves making enquiries such as: In what manner has the history been recorded? Who records it? Who is this information for? Did certain records or points of view receive greater recognition than others, and if so why? For general context,

we can build on the old adage that ‘history is written by the victors’. For the context of this thesis, we will focus on historiography in a New Zealand context. An historiographical approach allows us to delve into cross-cultural modes of engagement. ‘Decolonisation’ for one, has already been touched upon (Smith, 1999). Immediately we can make a distinction in the way Pākehā and Māori recorded their history—Māori had an oral-based tradition, while Pākehā kept written records.

Ethnography

Ethnography as a subset of qualitative research aims to provide accounts of people living in their everyday setting. Atkinson & Hammersley (2004) define ethnography as the exploration of the nature of a specific social phenomenon. This thesis draws connections between ethnography and the Māori world view through a study of how Māori face adversity in their everyday lives.

Methods and Tools

Data Collection

This thesis involved collecting a mix of primary and secondary data. All data collected were qualitative in nature. The bulk of the data were collected through a field study of Hawke’s Bay. The study involved a series of visits to Hawke’s Bay from February 2017 to February 2018. Much of the field work was conducted under the auspices of the EQC project, a logistical benefit being that data for both the EQC project and my thesis could be collected in the same trip. Other required data were collected from the libraries and archives at the University of Auckland, and at the National Library in Wellington. These data were collected during preliminary visits to the respective sites in 2016, again under the auspices of the EQC project.

Sampling

For primary data collection, participants were identified through two means. Firstly, through pre-existing connections by members at the University of Auckland and the Hawke’s Bay Civil Defence Emergency Management Group. Secondly, through mutual contacts at Hawke’s Bay branches of organisations such as the Rotary Clubs and the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services’ Association (RSAs). The participants were selected for their roles as stakeholders in the broad fields of disaster recovery and their expertise concerning Māoridom. On this matter,

utilising pre-existing connections is easier than ‘cold’ calling as there is a relationship already in place. Whilst cold-calling is not impossible, having the pre-existing relationship made it easier to engage with the participants in time which would otherwise have been spent establishing and building a relationship. These connections in essence acted as ‘gatekeepers’, adding a degree of legitimacy to the research (Kearns, 2010).

On the matter of Māori, much credence is given to these relationships in research or indeed any social setting. This so-labelled ‘kaupapa Māori’ approach emphasises values such as whanaungatanga (kinship, trust, reciprocity) and manaakitanga (care, hospitality, generosity) as guiding principles to engaging with Māori (Pipi et al., 2004). Although these values are not endemic to Māori, framing them within a culturally-specific context creates space for meaningful and relevant research.

The main thread of participant identification was facilitated by a member of the Rotary Club of Napier in February 2018. The member of the Rotary Club introduced me to a range of prospective participants, many of who were kaumātua (Māori elders). Kaumātua are valued repositories of cultural knowledge and histories and are accordingly held in high esteem.

Participants in this thesis comprised the following:

- Five (5) named kaumātua of Hawke’s Bay;
- One (1) survivor of the 1931 Hawke’s Bay earthquake;
- A focus group with the Rotary Club of Napier

Tools

Interviews

Interviews constituted the bulk of primary data collection. The researcher (interviewer) engages in a directed discussion with the participant (interviewee). Usually the researcher will prepare for an interview by coming up with a set of questions or ideas to achieve a particular objective, though the strictness to which they are adhered depends on the nature of the interview. Hay (2010) outlines three types of interviews: unstructured, semi-structured, and structured. This thesis focuses only on semi-structured interviews, as the names on their own are a reasonable indicator of how the interview is carried out. Semi-structured interviews typically begin with a broad opening question, the responses to which influence what

subsequent questions are asked, as well as the overall ‘flow’ of the interview. In any case, interviews are a useful tool of exploratory research in order that peoples’ feelings and attitudes can be articulated (Gray, 2009; Hay, 2010).

For this thesis, semi-structured interviews were conducted. They were referred to as ‘oral histories’, ‘life histories’, and ‘survivors’ tales’ to arouse interest and to encompass as broad a scope as possible. The participants were sorted into two categories according to their role as either key informants, or Hawke’s Bay stakeholders. Three participants were key informants for matters concerning disaster recovery from a Māori perspective. They were determined to be key informants for their expertise and familiarity with Te Ao Māori, and the extent to which their expertise could contribute to building a conceptual understanding of Te Ao Māori in relation to disaster recovery. Key informants were based throughout New Zealand and were interviewed through Skype, an online video calling platform. Face to face interviews would have been preferable but in this case were not feasible. Hawke’s Bay stakeholders were deemed to have a vested interest in disaster recovery either through their living in the region, or having experiences of the 1931 Hawke’s Bay earthquake through family connections. For stakeholders who were Māori, the latter criteria was useful to elucidate stories or histories passed on to them by older relatives. In this case, their interviews were conducted to gather first-hand accounts and opinions of recovery in Hawke’s Bay.

All interviews were conducted in English, including those with Māori participants who were fluent in the Māori language. Regrettably, I was not fluent enough to hold a full interview in Māori. Interviews conducted in-person were recorded using a digital recorder. In all cases consent was obtained prior to using the recorder, and the interviewees were made aware that they were being recorded. No notes were made during in-person interviews as it was deemed too obstructive to the overall flow of discussion. The interview recordings were transferred to a computer and transcribed verbatim. Interviews conducted through Skype were not recorded, therefore notes were made during the process.

Archival Research

Secondary data collection for this thesis entailed an extensive search for material from historical and archival collections. Archival research as a tool is a stalwart means of giving a

historical dimension to qualitative research (Roche, 2010). Depending on the source, archival material can range from official government records kept for preservation, to personal letters and documents, held by individuals and private collections. In any case, conducting archival research in a study of an historic event is a good indicator of the sort of information which individuals and organisations choose to hold with concern to the event, what was regarded as important, and how that information has been retained in the intervening years. Documents and materials kept over a period of years or decades also provide a temporal scale to the research, in that that they help track changes over time. This is relevant in terms of recovery being a long-term process.

For this thesis, the purpose of conducting archival research was threefold. Firstly, it provided a background and context to the events of the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, and the decisions made with concern to recovery after the earthquake. Secondly, the material collected helped construct a general historiography of the 1931 earthquake and its events, for instance, how the information has been recorded and imparted. Thirdly, it helped determine the extent to which Māori perspectives were considered in secondary materials. A number of sources both in Hawke's Bay and throughout New Zealand were identified as holding potentially relevant archival materials. Some of the sources located in Hawke's Bay included the Council Archives, the Public Libraries and the Knowledge Bank. Sources in New Zealand included the University of Auckland's Library, as well as their Television and Radio Archive.

In most cases, the archives repositories held paper or physical copies of the materials, necessitating a visit in-person to the respective organisations at which the materials were viewed. Photographs of the material were taken if given consent.

Literature analysis entails a systematic collection of material from academic sources. It differs from a literature review in that it moves beyond the mere evaluation of the literature, into gauging how two overarching concepts can join together. For the purpose of this thesis, literature analysis also had three aims. First, it sought to provide an existing conceptual framework for understanding disaster recovery. In this case, the livelihoods framework by Gaillard & Cadag (2009) has already been identified as the conceptual framework for understanding recovery from a 'Westernised' perspective'. To this end, the livelihoods

framework, as well as the overall literature review on recovery in chapter 1 both served as the benchmark against which the rest of the thesis will be compared. Second, the literature analysis aimed to provide specific academic accounts on Te Ao Māori and mana. Third, it aimed to provide specific academic accounts on post-disaster recovery with concern to the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake.

Literature analysis sources included academic journals, manuscripts, monographs, theses and dissertations. Preference was given to peer-reviewed sources, with the added concession that given the unexplored territory this thesis negotiates, there may be a paucity of such material.

Dataset

Data from the above-mentioned sources were collected and compiled to make a robust dataset. For the dataset, material was classified into either 'text' or 'visual materials'.

- Textual material included the following:
 - From primary interview data, interview transcriptions made from recordings, as well as supplementary notes taken during the recording process; notes taken from interviews which were not recorded;
 - From primary observation data, notes taken during field study in Hawke's Bay, included retrospective notes taken after the trip;
 - From secondary archival data, materials including policy documents, minutes of meetings, governments' and councils' reports, letters
 - Also from secondary archival data, notes taken from visual materials
 - From secondary literature analysis, academic materials including reports, journal articles, books, monographs, manuscripts, theses, dissertations
- Visual material included the following:
 - From primary observation data, photographs taken during field study in Hawke's Bay, observations of Māori cultural artefacts in a culture (i.e. marae) setting such as tokutoku (wall panel) and whakairo (carving)*
 - From secondary archival data, photographs and memorabilia pertaining to the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, including

On the matter of Māori cultural artefacts, it was considered impolite to photograph them, hence their 'observation' could only be made from a first-hand experience. Although a logistical

factor, having been required to journey to view these artefacts first-hand added to the authenticity of the research. Such artefacts were a subset of mātauranga Māori, and therefore needed a gatekeeper or someone to allow access to this mātauranga.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations involve the good and moral conduct of researchers and, by extension, the research institutions they represent. They also represent the building of trust among all parties involved (Gray, 2009). Dowling (2010) notes three key areas of concern with regards to ethical consideration, namely: privacy and confidentiality, informed consent, and harm. Privacy and confidentiality is addressed through anonymization of participants, and the way in which data are recorded and stored. Consent must be obtained from participants before they can participate in the research. It can be either written or verbal (Dowling, 2010). For research which involves immediate danger or topics of a personal nature, care must be taken to ensure that no harm is suffered by participants. In the case of personal topics which may cause upset, it is usual to offer the details of aid agencies or counselling services that can offer assistance (Dowling, 2010).

For participants, research is inherently disturbing as they have to take the time out of their day to be involved. Ethical considerations ensure that they are approached appropriately and that they can, if consenting, take part the research in a safe and morally good manner which minimises disturbances. For researchers, ethical considerations ensure that the researcher is aware of the social dynamics and nuances present when undertaking research involving people. For research institutions, such as universities, ethical considerations ensure that they are represented in the best possible light through enacting the good character of the academic discipline (Dowling, 2010).

This thesis satisfied the University of Auckland's ethics requirements through the applications made to the University's Human Participants Ethics Committee on behalf of the EQC project (Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 16 December 2016 for three years; reference number 018409) Therefore, no separate ethics application on my part was necessary. The application process involved producing a participant information sheet (PIS) and a consent form (CF). The PIS was presented to all prospective

participants to provide details about the research, who it involved and what it sought to achieve. On the matter of privacy and confidentiality, the PIS stated that participants' identities would be anonymised, and that any data collected pertaining to the research would be destroyed after six years. On the matter of harm, the PIS acknowledged that the subject at hand could stir unpleasant memories and be upsetting. Contact details of two social services were provided.

There is also a cultural aspect of ethics to be considered. Mead (2003) notes that tikanga in some circles is taken to mean 'Māori ethics'. This is not a certainty as there are still debates about the legitimacy of tikanga, and where it rests in relation to New Zealand's written laws and legislations. Yet tikanga still exists as an unwritten code in Māori communities—it is nuanced, whereby every iwi or hapu has specific practices or customs that they adhere to (Mead, 2003). Keeping this in mind subverts the assumption that all Māori have the same ideals. Rather, different iwi and hapu have their own needs and aspirations deriving from their specific social setting. To this end, research involving Māori would do well to consider the tikanga of the place which is researched.

This research was therefore an opportunity to realise tikanga in practice. It was undertaken in acknowledgement of Ngāti Kahungunu as the principal iwi of the Hawke's Bay region. (Mead, 2003). It was also expected that any interviews or engagement with Māori would keep in mind with tikanga. It also acknowledges that Ngāti Kahungunu hold mana whenua over the region. Research was therefore expected to be carried out in a way that upheld the mana whenua.

Limitations and Scope of the Method

Every attempt was made to ensure that this thesis was designed and constructed with academic rigour. There are however some constraints and limitations which warrant mentioning. Some of these have been mentioned briefly across the chapter, but they will now be discussed here in further detail.

The first constraint concerns itself with the subject at hand. 'Marrying' disaster recovery with an indigenous world view has frankly been an encroachment upon relatively unexplored territory. In consequence there was little in the way of a methodological benchmark to test the rigour or validity of the research. The diverse and multi-faceted nature of qualitative research is just as much a constraint as it is a strength; the sheer variability involved in nominating what

approach to take in such a research can make it difficult to settle on how a study should be designed. In that sense, this thesis is by design very much an experiment in itself—putting a novel approach to considering disaster recovery to the test.

This is also relevant with regards to the second constraint, namely time. The thesis from its inception to its completion took one year. During that year it underwent many changes, from the breadth of the subject to the choice of case study. As an example, my initial thought in April 2017 was to explore recovery from a Māori perspective through a case study of the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake. This suggestion of a case study was quickly rebuked as it would have come too soon, while many were still faced with immediate difficulties. These sorts of changes and others are again a product of qualitative research. Gray (2009) sympathises with these challenges and notes that qualitative research is not a linear process, and changes occur by way of overcoming constraints, or as the researcher's understanding and familiarity with their topic develops.

Chapter Four:

Hawke's Bay: Contextual Overview

Introduction

This Chapter introduces the Hawke's Bay region as the context for this study. Hawke's Bay was chosen as a case study because of two seminal events which made profound impacts upon the region's population: the first event being the earthquake of 1931, the second being the closure of the Hawke's Bay Farmers' Meat Company, also known as the Whakatū Meat Works, in 1986. Both events are as much part of the social history of Hawke's Bay in the ways they shaped and moulded the industry, economy and culture of the region.

Although the earthquake is generally well-documented (Wright, 2006), the events concerning the Works are not as widely known. The different time frames of the events allow for an analysis of continuity and change in the region. Demographically, Hawke's Bay has a markedly high proportion of Māori compared to other regions in New Zealand. In the 2013 Census, 23 percent of the Hawke's Bay population identified as Māori. This is higher than the national average of approximately 16 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

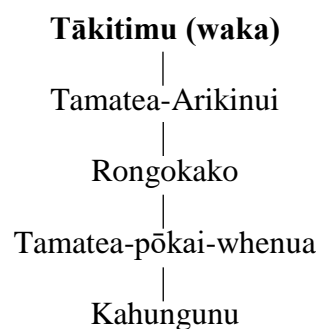
In order to appropriately establish the significance of the 1931 earthquake and the 1986 Works closure to this study, the Chapter provides firstly a general overview of the region. In keeping with the conventions of geography, the Chapter explores the geomorphology of Hawke's Bay, along with the region's changing demographics and land use. An overview on the region's historical significance to Māori is also made. On these bases, the events concerning the earthquake and Works closure are explored in further detail. The Chapter also takes the opportunity to present some of the relevant archival materials collected during field work. The Chapter closes by briefly returning to the literature from the previous Chapter, by way of suggesting how Māori perspectives of disaster recovery may be obtained through a case study of Hawke's Bay.

Geomorphology and Land Use

Hawke's Bay is characterised by various landforms that are largely the result of seismic activity. The boundaries of the region comprise rugged hills and mountain ranges to the west, along with coastal areas to the east (Yule, 1958). Plate tectonics indicate that the region is situated on the boundary of the Australian and Pacific plates (Yule, 1958; Hull, 1990). It is therefore susceptible to earthquakes.

Māori Arrival

Ngāti Kahungunu are the largest iwi in the Hawke's Bay region. Today they operate under three main strands, each covering a large district within the region. Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, the Northern boundary; Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, the Central boundary; and Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, the Southern boundary. The iwi is named after Kahungunu, the ancestor to whom all iwi members trace their lineage. Kahungunu's own ancestry ties back to the waka Tākitimu, captained by his great-grandfather Tamatea. A whakapapa detailing this line of descent is as follows (adapted from Mitira, 1972):



The ancestral connection to Tākitimu is shared by other regions on New Zealand's East Coast, for instance Manawatu and Wairarapa. It was one of many waka that made landfall throughout various New Zealand coastlines around ~1350 AD. However, in keeping with the relevance of this thesis, Ngāti Kahungunu endures as the principal focus for these discussions. Mitira (1972) recounts the life of Kahungunu as an industrious man, whose acumen and industry paved the way for a life of prosperity and good fortune for his descendants. Other accounts of Kahungunu's exploits include his marriages (nine of them) and charismatic nature.

Māori had their own names for various parts of Hawke’s Bay. Heretaunga is used to refer to both the city of Hastings and the Hawke’s Bay District at large. Ahuriri is the Māori name for Napier. Te Whanganui-a-Orotū is the name for Napier’s inner harbour. Many early Māori made settlements along coastlines and next to rivers, in order that they had sure access to food, other natural resources, and convenient passage by waka for transporation. Among the locations where Māori established settlements was the inner harbour, Te Whanganui-a-Orotū. The site was of significance to Māori because of the resources it provided—it was a site of contestation between Māori tribes prior to Pākehā settlement, an example being the battle of Te Pakake, the year occurring usually given as 1824 (Parsons, 1992).

In general, Māori settlements in the area provide fleeting insights into traditional Māori livelihood prior to Pākehā arrival. Parsons (1992) reports on customs such as flax baskets being fashioned to collect food, karakia being uttered before entering the water, and other specific rules being observed in the process of mahinga kai (food cultivation or gathering). Indeed the abundance of resources in pre-colonial times ensured Māori who lived off the land did so for the most part with success.

On the matter of nomenclature, the ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’ identification that is used today was not widely adopted until the late nineteenth century. Before then, Māori operated within hapū, smaller kinship groups, with their distinct identities. In most cases these smaller groups still had common ties to the ancestor Kahungunu. Ngāti Kahungunu came about following Pākehā arrival to New Zealand, as Māori attempted to retain their identity and authority.

Pākehā Settlement

The first recorded Pākehā contact with Hawke’s Bay was made in 1769 by Captain James Cook and his crew of the H.M.S. *Endevaour* (Druett, 2011). However, this initial contact did not lead to settlement as the crew thought they were met with hostility by the Māori who lived there. It was not until the influx of Pākehā in the 1830’s that European numbers began to markedly increase. As explained in Chapter 3, Pākehā settlement in New Zealand introduced Māori to a different and unfamiliar way of life, a civilisation shaped by trading, industries, literacy and Christianity (Buck, 1958; Mitira, 1972; Williams, 2016). This interaction essentially gave rise to the amalgamation of cultures that persists today.

Among the initial Pākehā settlers were whalers. They did well to settle in a region with abundant sea life. Whilst Māori took part in their own customs of traditional whaling, Pākehā introduced them to commercial whaling, a practice which was focused on profit. The whaling industry prospered briefly, but subsided by the 1860's as the whale population was decimated. In any case the Pākehā had begun to make their mark on the region as they married Māori women. The Pākehā whalers were also traders, and their acumen presented Māori a wealth of opportunities to make money and to cement relationships between Māori and Pākehā. By the late 1800's, Hawke's Bay had become a region renowned for merchant trading, an industry partaken by both Māori and Pākehā.

The Twentieth Century

This section highlights some considerations in order that a brief understanding of New Zealand's social and economic standing leading up to the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake may be achieved. The four major events mentioned are: 1) 'Māori cultural renaissance'; 2) The Great War/First World War; 3) The 1918 influenza pandemic; 4) The Great Depression. The four events will not be examined in great detail, rather they are mentioned to highlight how a concoction of hardships may come together and how they might act as precursors to the vulnerability or resilience of a community before a disaster occurs.

The turn of the twentieth century was met with great advances in Western society. The Māori-Pākehā relationship had undergone rigorous tests and stresses. It was a time of young Māori born into a world having been exposed to the trials and hardships of their elders in the face of colonial settlement. This is echoed in the works of the time by the likes of Ngata, Pōmare and Buck, who sought to have Māori welfare, aspects of living, and social status recognised on a similar platform to Pākehā. Whilst this point is made with reference to New Zealand as a whole, it also serves as a backdrop to considering the social status of Māori in Hawke's Bay over the years. It was ultimately a time when Māori at large were at the margin of society.

The first few decades of the twentieth century were wrought with other global events. The First World War being the result of increasing tensions between the Allied and Central Powers brought conflicting political ideologies to the fray. The material losses of war were matched by the human losses on all fronts. New Zealand's losses were felt—out of the 100,000 soldiers

who went to war, around 18,000 were killed and around 41,000 wounded. The influenza pandemic of 1918 struck New Zealand as the disease claimed a high proportion of Māori compared with Pākehā and other ethnicities. The high mortality of Māori to influenza was seen as an encouragement to improve medical and hygiene practices of the time (Poole, 1973; Rice, 1988).

Around 1929, economic downturn struck the world in the form of the Great Depression. In New Zealand's case, it was a time when there were still close ties with Great Britain. To this end, Britain's losses reverberated somewhat in New Zealand. Falling export prices and widespread unemployment were the main consequences of the Depression. It was a particularly trying time in New Zealand, for a country whose economy relied heavily on exports such as wool and lamb meat. There were no social and governmental assistance as we have today to help those who struggled. It is often said that the Depression raised a generation keenly aware of frugality, and the austere measures needed to survive.

The 1931 Earthquake

The 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake struck at 10.47am on Tuesday 3rd February. It measured 7.8 on the Richter scale. The main shock was felt throughout New Zealand, with the exception for the most part, of Northland¹ and the southern South Island (Callaghan, 1933; Hull, 1990). First-hand accounts from people who felt the earthquake indicate that it lasted anywhere from thirty seconds up to about three minutes (Callaghan, 1933; Hull, 1990). The earthquake struck with no warnings or precursors. Remarks in hindsight noted that the sea was unusually calm on the morning of the earthquake (Wright, 2006). 256 people were killed with the majority of casualties in the Napier and Hastings urban centres suffering 161 and 93 deaths respectively. Many of the casualties were killed by falling debris and masonry. Thousands more were injured when they were struck by debris and buried beneath rubble. The earthquake struck on the first

¹ Hull (1990) refers to 'North Auckland' instead of 'Northland'. North Auckland was the vernacular in 1931—Northland did not come into use until the middle of the twentieth century. Though dated by 1990, Hull's use of North Auckland was likely in keeping with the reports and information as they were in 1931.

day of school, fortunately when many schoolchildren were outside on playtime break (Conly, 1980). The main shock was followed by a series of smaller, yet still significant aftershocks at regular intervals for about ten days (Hull, 1990).

Damage

The earthquake caused substantial damage to buildings and infrastructure throughout Hawke's Bay. Eyewitness accounts noted such things as buildings swaying violently, cracks and fissures appearing on walls and pavements, and telegraph poles leaning precariously (Callaghan, 1933). Buildings constructed out of brick and masonry were especially fragile. Many commercial and business buildings were badly affected as their masonry and facades came tumbling down (Thomas et al., 2003), and chimneys collapsed throughout the region. First-hand accounts recall people in buildings when the earthquake struck rushing outside into the road only for the debris to come tumbling down on top of them (Callaghan, 1933). Buildings and homes constructed out of wood fared better by comparison, though brick chimneys, water pipes and drainage systems still suffered (Callaghan, 1933).

Infrastructure such as roads, rail, electricity and telephone lines, and water and sewage pipelines were disrupted by the earthquake. These disruptions hindered immediate recovery efforts as services including police, fire brigade, ambulance and hospitals' resources were stretched. Damage from the earthquake was aggravated by fires that broke out in Napier and Hastings. In Napier, four fires broke out throughout the city. Three fires started in chemists due to the flammable materials contained within the shops igniting. One of the chemists that caught fire was adjacent to the Masonic Hotel, which also caught alight (Thomas et al., 2003). Ability to access water resources had already been constrained by earthquake damage inflicted to pipelines and reservoirs (Callaghan, 1933; Thomas et al., 2003). Water shortages and a prevailing westerly wind meant the fires quickly spread to surrounding buildings in the city. A lot of the consequent damage suffered by buildings in the Napier city centre was fire damage.

One of the well-known accounts of assistance provided after the earthquake concerns the Royal Navy. The vessel H.M.S. *Veronica* arrived in Port Ahuriri, Napier, on the morning of the earthquake. Her presence was fortunate not only for the extra manpower provided by her crew in the relief efforts, but also for the ability to relay communications for assistance throughout

New Zealand. With the land-based communication lines damaged by the earthquake, and with no way to quickly contact for help outside of Napier, the crew on board *Veronica* were able to relay information about the earthquake, and radio for assistance. After only eight minutes from the initial shock, *Veronica* had radioed a message in Morse code to the naval base in Auckland detailing the situation (Evans, 2006).

In answer to the calls for help, additional naval relief from Auckland arrived by the following day in the form of the H.M.S. *Dunedin* and the H.M.S. *Diomedes* with their respective crews. They brought with them food, medicine, tents, blankets, and additional crew. Together the Naval crews provided valuable labour as they joined in with the locals in clearing rubble, putting out fires and tending to the wounded. In Napier with the hospitals damaged, emergency field hospitals and medical centres were set up to treat the wounded. Their establishment was hastened by the collective manpower of the locals, Navy, and other groups of people whose assistance was valued (Conly, 1930). Clive Square in Napier became a ‘tin-town’ in the wake of the earthquake as an improvised means for shops and services to carry out business. Its presence helped retain a semblance of normality and everyday life as the more enduring rebuilding efforts took hold.

Other calls for assistance were taken up by organisations such as the Salvation Army and Red Cross. The Salvation Army sent provisions of food and clothing to those affected. They also coordinated evacuation measures for those especially vulnerable. An example being the rescue of babies and young families from Napier’s ‘Bethany’ Maternity Home. The rescued were evacuated to Wellington Maternity Home as a means of temporary respite whilst more permanent measures were arranged (Salvation Army, 2017). The Red Cross also provided support through sheer manpower—a journal by Galloway (1931) recalls relief depots were set up in places including, Nelson, Waipukurau, and Palmerston, providing food, shelter and medical care for those displaced by the earthquake. The Red Cross provided motor transport to the depots.

As is often the case with large disasters, the New Zealand Government was compelled to play a role in recovery efforts. In April 1931, legislature (Hawke’s Bay Earthquake Act 1931) took the first steps to officially coordinating reconstruction in the region. Prior to the earthquake, no

legislative or regulatory provisions following disaster were in place. The 1931 Act set out to grant financial assistance to those affected by the earthquake. Administration of financial assistance was to be overseen by a Rehabilitation Committee, whose establishment was also an immediate result of the Act. However, the task was made difficult by the economic conditions at the time, as New Zealand was still in the midst of the Depression.

Ultimately, the scale of the earthquake was such that responses of support, charity and goodwill came in from throughout New Zealand and indeed the rest of the world. The immediate recovery efforts were a combination of locals, groups and organisations pulling together in the face of adversity (Boersen, 2014).

Uplift

Aside from the great social upheaval, the earthquake also brought drastic changes to the region's landscape. Tectonic action generated up to 2.7 metres of uplift, the results of which were most noticeable in Napier (Hull, 1990). The uplift raised what was low-lying wetland and marsh prior to the earthquake. It resulted in new land being habitable for building and development. Among the areas lost or severely reduced due to uplift was the Ahuriri Lagoon, located in Te Whanganui-a-Orotū. Although Māori had, for the most part, left the lagoon by 1931, it remained a site of historical significance. Events concerning the Lagoon are explored in the next Chapter.

The Legacy of the Earthquake

The legacy of the 1931 earthquake endures today. It is recognised as one of New Zealand's most significant disasters of the twentieth century (Callaghan, 1933; Wright, 2006). Up until the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011, it was New Zealand's most well-known earthquake disaster in post-colonial times. There are well-publicised commemorations of the earthquake every year in Napier and Hastings, including survivors' reunions, whose number unfortunately diminishes with the passing years. The commemorations set out to ensure that the 1931 earthquake remains in public consciousness, in order that subsequent generations may understand its lasting impacts.

Throughout the decades, various efforts have been made to record survivors' recollections of the earthquake. They have materialised in books, newspaper and magazine articles, television

documentaries and other general interest media. Many of these publications focus on the earthquake itself, and recovery efforts up to about ten years after the earthquake (Hill & Gaillard, 2013). Whilst interested parties are able to look back with fondness to the displays of strength and resilience after the earthquake, there remains the opportunity to understand how communities develop in the long-term—in the decades following a major disaster.

With Napier and Hastings being the two main centres of the Hawke’s Bay region, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of the information collected and recorded focuses on them. In general interest media, the event is often referred to as simply the ‘Napier’ earthquake. However, this labelling does not typically capture the true scale of the event—the earthquake affected much more than Napier and indeed Hastings. Yet information on the effects upon the rural hinterlands of Hawke’s Bay is lacking in comparison. In some ways this could be attributed to the hinterlands’ lower population, fewer casualties and fewer first-hand accounts of the impacts suffered in these areas. Nevertheless it is a necessary insight that could do well with a closer investigation.

The Hawke’s Bay Farmers’ Meat Company (HBFMC)

The Hawke’s Bay Farmers’ Meat Company, known colloquially as the Whakatū Meat Works makes a rather late and abrupt addition to the Chapter. The reason for this is the initial scope of the study concerned Māori perspectives of recovery only from the earthquake. However, upon discussions with participants, it became apparent that the establishment, growth and eventual downfall of the meat works industry in Hawke’s Bay was considered also to be a disaster for Māori. To that effect, my initial discussion with Des Ratima began with, “if you want to talk about disasters, how about the freezing works?” (personal communication, February 5, 2018). With my being an outsider to Hawke’s Bay, it would have been ignorant not to bring in what came to be a compelling and enduring event in the everyday lives of a large proportion of Māori in the region.

The chain-operated meat works came out of the early beginnings of the pastoralism industry in Hawke’s Bay. Labour force numbers were enriched by the Manpower Act of 1944 which compelled able bodied adults to work in essential services, often located in urban areas. For the village of Whakatū and indeed for the wider Hawke’s Bay, the Works served as a marker

for many people in defining their pattern of everyday life in the mid-twentieth century. In peak seasons, the Works employed up to one thousand [slaughter room workers] and a further thousand ancillary staff (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008; T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018; D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018). Approximately 40 percent of Whakatū's labour force was Māori (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008), a significant proportion given that such employment would have been an unfamiliar prospect at the time.

The 'Works' Life for Māori

In spite of the uncertainty, the Māori labour force of Whakatū generally took well to their new line of work. The Works afforded a space for Māori to learn their language, as well as other cultural customs which would typically have been imparted on a marae (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). In that respect, the Works became a cultural vessel for the Māori, in which the values of the old were taught in spaces of the new. The older, experienced hands were tasked with passing on such values to the younger workers (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). The Works also assisted Māori in understanding and adjusting to the wider social and political arrangements of the time, in particular trade unionism. Accordingly, the Works became a part of everyday life for its employees, beyond the menial 'on-the-job' duties. Māori families eventually established themselves within the Works 'community'; it was not unusual for two or three generations of family members to have had employment there (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008).

Towards Long-term Recovery Research

At the time of writing, the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake occurred 87 years ago. It is a valuable case study for understanding long-term disaster recovery for two principal reasons. Firstly, enough time has passed in order that post-disaster recovery trends over several decades can be identified (Hill & Gaillard, 2013). It makes for a worthy opportunity to observe the changes and developments in Hawke's Bay since the earthquake, and to understand the ways in which communities pull together after a disaster. Secondly, it is still recent enough that survivors are still living, yet unfortunately and inevitably, diminishing in number. As such, first-hand accounts of the event are not wholly confined to the 'history books'—there have been ongoing efforts to record and preserve their stories. Long-term recovery brings the opportunity to latch on to these efforts whose outcomes could potentially endure for years to come.

Furthermore, there is a relative dearth of accounts on the effects that the earthquake had on Māori communities. Given the scale of the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, and the wealth of opportunities that have arisen out of it, there is a sure need to consider how a case study such as this could be used to understanding disaster recovery from a Māori perspective. Not only the earthquake itself, but the social organisation of the time could be examined and compared with what has changed to the present day.

The inclusion of the Works extends the contextual scope of the study and offers a further means to explore the changing social organisation of Hawke's Bay. It is also an opportunity to explore long-term recovery, albeit more recent than 1931, and accordingly much closer in living memory.

Chapter Five:

Māori Perspectives of Disaster Recovery in Hawke’s Bay

This chapter presents a series of Māori perspectives on disaster recovery in Hawke’s Bay, in the context of both the 1931 earthquake and the 1986 Works’ closure. The bulk of the findings comprises a series of discussions with kaumātua in Hawke’s Bay. In order to retain the discussions’ authenticity and overall narrative, the findings are thematised as three themes:

Part I: The 1931 Earthquake and the Loss of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū: This part focuses on the area known as Te-Whanganui-a-Orotu (the Ahuriri Estuary, literally ‘the great bay of Orotū’). The Bay, which included the famed Ahuriri Lagoon, was considered among the Ahuriri hapū (the kinsfolk of Ahuriri) as a ‘kete kai’ or a food basket. It was thus a valued resource, over which the Ahuriri hapū acted as kaitiaki (guardians). The narratives of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū explored in this thesis provide an account of Māori livelihood before and immediately prior to the 1931 earthquake. It shows how this livelihood changed by Pākehā settlement and land development, along with the subsequent challenges these presented to Māori in maintaining their ability to guard their kete kai. Ultimately the local Māori could not, and thus had failed in their duty as kaitiaki. It was feared that this failure would anger the gods. As fate would have it, in 1931, Rūaumoko awakened, and so began te ru - the earthquake.

The uplift generated by the earthquake resulted in much of the Ahuriri Lagoon, indeed Te Whanganui-a-Orotū, being lost. The local Māori whose livelihoods had already begun to be tested prior to the earthquake now had to contend with the spiritual losses of such a calamity.

Part II: The Disaster after the Disaster: The Freezing Works Closures: This part examines the ‘freezing works life’ to which many Māori in Hawke’s Bay became accustomed during the middle of the twentieth century. The Whakatū Freezing Works established its commercial operations in 1912. The Works were operated by the Hawke’s Bay Farmers’ Meat Company. The growth of the Works was part of a series of transformations the region underwent following the 1931 earthquake. Urbanisation compelled many young people to look to the cities for

employment. In particular, Māori were drawn to the freezing works. The Works became a means of adjusting to the new conditions of mid-century life such as shift work, living away from home (single workers were often accommodated near the works), and unionisation.

The closure of the Whakatū Freezing Works on 10 October 1986 caused large-scale job loss among labour workers through the Hawke's Bay region. The Whakatū labour force contained a substantial proportion of Māori. Families and households lost what was often their main source of income. As with the 1931 earthquake, the years following the Works' closure entailed an extensive recovery process. In this theme, a series of initiatives which have arisen out of adversity are presented. They have emerged on the basis that the Works' closure essentially compelled the people and communities affected to develop initiatives in their recovery.

Part III: A Conceptual Basis for Te Ao Māori/ Mana in Disaster Recovery: This Part draws further on the empirical findings presented in the first two Parts to pull together a conceptual basis for understanding and discerning the role of mana in disaster recovery. It differs from a basic literature review in that there is no convention by which to establish mana as an appropriate concept to approach recovery. The conceptual basis is informed by the expertise of two key informants, identified for their expertise and familiarity with Māori concepts in an academic setting. A preliminary framework schematising ordinarily mana and its interactions across wider kinship groups is presented.

Part I: The 1931 Earthquake and the Loss of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū

Historical Context: A Māori Livelihood

A Māori saying which goes, ‘me hoki whakamuri, kia haere whakamua’, translates as ‘look to the past, to move to the future’. Metaphorically, this saying may be interpreted as thinking that Māori walk ‘backwards’ into the future - progression, though at the same time keeping sight of the needs and wants of their ancestors. With this in mind, the present condition of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū, while indeed influenced heavily by the 1931 earthquake, cannot be separated from its historical context. Specifically, it is important to acknowledge the state of the Inner Harbour prior to the earthquake, and how it was regarded to the local Māori.

The history of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū is therefore explored through a combination of research methods. The principal information was obtained through an interview with Heitia Hiha, a kāumatua of Ngati Matepu and subsequently, the wider Ahuriri hapu. Information discussed is corroborated by consulting a range of secondary materials, including reports written for the Waitangi Tribunal as well as supplementary reports, historical documents, and visual archival materials obtained from Auckland University’s Television and Radio Archive. The written materials, particularly the reports prepared for the Waitangi Tribunal, are the outputs of lengthy and meticulous historical research.

The legend of Pania of the Reef casts an aura of mystique upon the shores of Napier. Beyond the impressive bronze statue which rests on Marine Parade today, is a narrative to which many hapū of Ahuriri are culturally and genealogically connected (Tareha, 1950). Pania was a descendant of Tangaroa, a deity of the sea. Pania lived in the sea; every day she was heralded by the calls of the sirens and other sea creatures. During the day she would stay amongst these creatures. At nightfall she would come ashore and rest in a flax bush. One evening, a chief by the name of Karitoki, who lived in Mataruahou (Bluff Hill), spotted Pania sitting in a flax bush and was instantly attracted to her. Karitoki and Pania cohabited and bore a son whom they called Moremore.

In the meantime Pania continued to answer the sirens’ calls by venturing out to sea during the day. Karitoki grew restless at this. He was also fearful of losing Moremore. He sought the advice of a tohunga (expert), who suggested that Karitoki place a piece of cooked kumara in

Pania and Moremore's mouths while they slept, in order that they would never have to return to sea again. This however failed; Pania went out to sea and Karitoki never saw her again (Tareha, 1955). Moremore became a taniwha, or a spiritual guardian of the shores surrounding Napier. He is said to take the form of a shark, and to this day is regarded by the local Māori as a kaitiaki of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū. Many of the local Māori trace their descent to Pania and Karitoki, and in continuing the deeds of their ancestors they regard the protection of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū as a food source as a duty to which they trace back to their ancestor, Pania (Rangiaho, 2010).

Te Whanganui-a-Orotū was an historic fishing ground, in which the local tribes would gather fish, such as patiki (flounders, *Rhombosolea leporina*) and herrings (*Clupea genus*), seafood, including whetiko (molluscs, *Amphibola crenata*), tuangi (cockles, *Austrovenus stutchburyi*), kuku (mussels, *Perna canaliculus*) and pipi (*Paphies australis*) (Mana Ahuriri Incorporated, n.d.; Rangiaho, 2010; H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018). Day to day life among pre-colonial Māori largely involved collecting food to provide for their community. Over time they built up a knowledge of the different types of food, harvesting and preparing practices, the best places to find them, and the water and tide flows which influenced when they went out to collect food. This knowledge was also a testament to the communal aspect of Māori social organisation which still exists today:

[For the local Māori], that's your pātaka kai – you don't empty your pātaka kai! You leave some there for tomorrow. You take enough for yourself, and for the old people in the marae who don't go out, and you hand it out to them as well.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8 2018)

Food collection was therefore a shared task, a communal activity to maintain community well-being. The younger, fitter members of a party would go out onto the more challenging terrains to collect food, whilst the older members and young children remained in the gentler areas, their contributions no less vital. These practices reinforced the locals' role as kaitiaki of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū; the spiritual element of this role being an obligation to protect the bounties of nature in order that they can provide for the generations to come. For the locals,

having enough food for their own people as well as any visitors was an essential component of manaakitanga, or an ethos of hospitality, which was expected to be demonstrated by the Māori.

The locals who fished in Te Whanganui-a-Orotū continued to do so with the arrival of the Pākehā in the nineteenth century. However, with the growth in population came increasing societal developments as Pākehā sought to settle into their own pattern of life consequent and social practice. They brought with them the technologies and infrastructure of their homeland. Among these technologies, the Pākehā set up trade and shipping passages which utilised the harbour. This gave rise to the pre-earthquake reputation which Napier gained as a small shipping port town. In spite of these industrial advancements, Te Whanganui-a-Orotū remained a viable food store, which the local Māori continued to use.

It was perhaps inevitable, however, that the burgeoning industrial growth in Napier would eventually affect Te Whanganui-a-Orotū. With the added industry came the installation of sewage pipes, the run-off of which emptied straight into the harbour. In an era before the environmental regulations of modern times, industrial pollutants made their way into the lagoon, amongst the valuable seafood harvests from which Māori had been collecting for centuries (Rangiaho, 2010).

Many of the local Māori were dismayed that the waters from which they collected food were rapidly becoming spoilt. Some tried to avert the pollution by digging trenches to let the freshwater from the adjacent rivers flow in but the efforts were largely futile (Rangiaho, 2010). The locals' role as kaitiaki was under threat, and it was thought that a failure on their part to fulfil their role would surely anger the gods.

An oral account of which I was told, was of a mass of jellyfish that had washed up ashore on Marine Parade, the day before the earthquake (Interviewee B, personal communication, 6 February 2018). Such a sighting was highly unusual, though easily attributable as a tohu, a sign, and an omen in hindsight. In any case, if one considers the use of taniwha in constructing a history from a Māori perspective, it is no less meaningful even if not scientifically verifiable.

February 3rd, 1931: Earthquake

The following account concerns the sightings made by Te Wereta, a tohunga who lived in Westshore at the time of the earthquake.

Early in the morning, about eight o'clock, [Wereta] heard shooting. He came to his doorway and he looked out onto the bridge, and he saw two young men with a rifle and they were shooting at something in the water. And when he looked, it was the fin of a shark, and he was absolutely certain it was Moremore. Now Moremore is our kaitiaki for Ahuriri. [He is] the son of Pania. And so that happened, and [Wereta] yelled at them! And told them off in no uncertain terms! Of course, they just took off across the bridge to [the] Ahuriri side. [Wereta] went back inside and pondered over what they'd done, but then, sort of settled back for the morning.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

Consequently at 10.47am, less than three hours after Wereta had castigated the boys that Ruaumoko awoke, stirring and quivering; and so began the earthquake. If the object in the water which was being shot as was indeed Moremore, then this narrative is a compelling one in Māori eyes. “Our old people were quite convinced, up and down, that the cause of the earthquake was the result of [the boys] interfering with our kaitiaki” (H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8 2018).

Not forgetting the despoliation of the lagoon prior to the earthquake, the other narrative which runs parallel to Wereta's sighting is the anger with which the gods would have reacted to the kete kai being plundered. In societies which pay due reverence to a god or supernatural entity, it is these to which calamitous events such as earthquakes are often attributed. For the Māori, it was thought that the gods would retaliate by way of punishment for failing to uphold certain roles or duties. By attributing the earthquake to a god, the expression of mana may be thought of in two ways. Firstly, the earthquake itself as nature's ultimate expression of mana and as a response to the pollution of the Lagoon. Secondly, for the locals, the earthquake represents a loss of mana which reflects upon themselves and the rest of their kinsmen, and up to the ancestors from which their mana derives.

Far from the damages and losses of homes and buildings which are often the aspects thought of with earthquake destruction, the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake resulted in a different kind of loss for the Māori tribes of Ahuriri. The loss of the Lagoon is difficult to quantify, but nonetheless significant. The stories of its history piece together a picture of Māori livelihood which underwent the changes that accompanied Pākehā's arrival to New Zealand. The outward physical provisions of the Lagoon were lamented by inward grievances and a sense of failure amongst the Ahuriri tribes. With concern to mana, there comes the need to move forward, and not only re-establish a 'broken' mana, but also to create a new mana.

After the Earthquake: 'The Importance of One Another'

The human and material costs of the 1931 earthquake in the main centres of Hawke's Bay are well documented. Most of the damage occurred in built up areas, where people were killed or injured by falling debris and the subsequent fires. Great strides have been made to document these accounts in various historical records and memorabilia. These accounts do well to capture some of the horror and hardship faced by those who experienced the earthquake, along with the stories of recovery and the decisions taken to that effect. Despite that, the accounts of those with first hand experience shared during this research were particularly compelling, and an opportunity not taken lightly. One interviewee recalled being in the dressing room at the Havelock North swimming baths as a schoolboy when he saw a brick wall come crashing down due to the force of the earthquake. He recounted how fortuitous it was that the wall fell outward, for had it fallen inward the debris would have landed on top of the schoolchildren in the baths (personal communication, October 26, 2017).

Many Māori however lived outside the main centres, and as such did not suffer as much damage to their homes and buildings as there had been in the townships. Yet the sense of fear and uncertainty was no less felt amongst them as it was amongst those faced with damage in the town centres. The interviewees I spoke to told of stories which had been passed on to them by those who lived through the earthquake. Anecdotes recounted the ground moving like waves in the water, or likening the shaking to jelly (J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018; D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018). These accounts are consistent with the stories which already been documented of people's experiences.

Delving deeper into why the earthquake occurred, some Māori took a spiritual viewpoint. From these perspectives, one interviewee told of his parents' and older family members' interpretations of the earthquake.

They [parents and older family members] thought it was the end of the world. They thought that the ground would open up and swallow everyone.

(J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

This mindset stemmed not only from confronting the calamity of Ruauumoko to traditional Māori thinking, but also to a religious, specifically a biblical, interpretation. Participants noted that the Anglican, Catholic, and Latter Day Saints (Mormon) Churches, whilst prevalent today, were already well-established by 1931 (J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018; D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018). The biblical interpretations in particular came from the book of Revelation, which proclaims the end of the world in accordance with several prophecies. This interpretation aligns with Ruauumoko acting out in anger. Religion and spirituality are devices which, to those who abide by them, are meaningful. They can be used to make sense of an extreme event. It is little surprise therefore, that Māori at the time of the 1931 earthquake would approach the disaster with a spiritual frame of mind. Further to this element of spirituality was the way in which the Māori people came together immediately after the earthquake. Most of the participants spoke of how their peoples' marae became a focal point for everyone to gather and come to terms with what had happened.

Of course, the main thing that happened was that our people gathered at the marae. The marae, Kahuranaki. And the people were scared and were wondering what the hell had happened. But for the marae, 'ko Kahuranaki te marae, ne? Ko Kahuranaki te wahi tipuna'. [Kahuranaki is the marae [to which we belong], right? Kahuranaki is the ancestral site]. Everyone looked after each other and that's where they shared their stories.

(J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

The marae became a focal point because they, along with the rest of the Māori communities, were often situated away from the areas which were badly damaged. As a result, marae became

a veritable safe haven; they did not carry the risk of injury from falling debris as homes and homes in the main centres might have. On the matter of the marae being the ‘wahi tipuna’ or the ancestral site, marae are constructed as physical embodiments of an ancestor. To that end, people within the marae also meant, by proxy, that they were also ‘within’ an ancestor. The local Māori who belonged to the marae drew comfort in the knowledge that their ancestor, as represented in the construction and bodywork of the marae, should remain upright in spite of the damage which overcame the main centres of Hawke’s Bay. As with religious interpretations of disaster, this element of reassurance should not be denied if it is a source of comfort to the people affected.

There was not time in this particular study to systematically examine how the historical construction of marae in Hawke’s Bay affected their ability to withstand the 1931 earthquake. Indeed, it would seem that the general lack of damage amongst Hawke’s Bay marae was more due to their being situated away from the epicentre of the earthquake. Previous studies on the role of marae in disaster recovery suggest that the wooden construction and design of a whareniui may withstand earthquakes better than houses of Western-style construction. It is in any case a reasonable assumption that the Māori building practices by 1931, which were the product of centuries of maturation and trial-and-error, would have fared better against natural hazard events in comparison with the relatively unfamiliar Western practices of the era.

People coming together in adversity is not an uncommon phenomenon (Kenney & Phibbs, 2014). For the Māori who lived through the 1931 earthquake, the marae provided a refuge both physically and spiritually, as explained above. In doing so it also afforded an expression of manaakitanga (hospitality) through the gathering of people in the face of hardship. While not explicit, indeed certainly not so in a time when people’s concerns are mainly for their survival, the expression of manaakitanga enhances the mana of the individuals involved, and in turn enhances the mana of their wider community. Marae are often more than adequately provisioned to feed and house their own people as well as visitors where needed, particularly when their kete kai are well managed. This is very much a showcase of ‘strength in numbers’ which emphasises the strong communal aspect within Māori social organisation.

Hana Cotter (1914-2006), a kuia of Ngāti Kahungunu, made mention of the role which her marae, Korongata, and their people had in providing shelter and relief after the earthquake. She gave an oral history interview conducted for the Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust in 1998 (Preston, 2006):

[And then] our elders, when they came back that night [after surveying the damage in Hastings], then they had a korero [talk] on the marae for everybody to come, come out of your homes and come and stay on the marae. And which they did. They started bringing their beds and their blankets and things. And those that had tents - they brought tents - in case we didn't have enough room. And they stayed on the marae. They told us how desperate it was in Hastings and Napier. Since we were able to move around and we can do things, organise ourselves to send one party to Napier and one party to Hastings. And go there and help the people in the relief work.

(H. Cotter, in Preston (2006))

In spite of the sheer turmoil with which the people were faced, they evoked a great pragmatism both in banding together and in arranging relief parties to assist with the injured and the displaced. This was made possible in no small part by the marae and its ability to bring people together. Also, with the technologies and instant communications of modern day it is easy to forget that the speed with which news about events travelled throughout the towns and communities was vastly different in 1931. Hana Cotter talks of how a party of her family went from Korongata to the Hastings township to survey the damage. It was only upon their return, and indeed only when Cotter could see for herself the trails of destruction left by the earthquake (Preston, 2006).

The pragmatic response by Cotter's elders is not unique to Māori, but this particular scenario represents the strength of a collective mindset which would undoubtedly have been reinforced by the marae setting. Similar responses of pragmatism have been evident following recent disasters in New Zealand, such as the 2010–11 Canterbury earthquakes and the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake. 'Adversities' of all together different natures, such as a tangihanga (Māori funeral service), or a meeting to address an important issue, also call for gatherings at a marae. In these

cases, marae afford an expression of mana by providing a familiar setting for which to engage and deal with the issues at hand.

The Uplift of the Lagoon

The present condition of Napier and the Hawke's Bay region at large has undeniably been influenced by the earthquake. The uplift of approximately 2.7 metres drained much of the Lagoon, making land available for industrial development, housing and farming. Available land prior to the earthquake had been limited. In retrospect, much of the opinion towards the uplift is positive; it allowed for developments that would otherwise have not been possible had the uplift not occurred. Long-time residents I spoke to were of the opinions that "the earthquake made Napier", that Napier would have remained a 'small port town' had the earthquake not happened (personal communication, August 9, 2017); that the earthquake was "the best thing that ever happened to Napier" (personal communication, September 27, 2017); and that the earthquake and uplift were essential to establishing Napier as it is today (personal communication, February 5, 2018). From these anecdotal accounts, it can be assumed that the earthquake, despite causing death and destruction, and while doubtless a frightening ordeal for those who survived it, was a seminal moment in the formative history of Hawke's Bay.

Land reclamation was already occurring prior to the 1931 earthquake. As early as 1860, nine years after the [Crown] purchase of the Ahuriri Block, small scale reclamations of shallow swamp had begun. Planning for the reclamation was principally facilitated by a cooperation between the Napier Borough Council and the Napier Harbour Board (Annabell, 2012). Eventually the reclamation efforts advanced into the Lagoon, with the intention of establishing a port in Napier (Annabell, 2012). The local Māori had already established a seafaring passage of their own in the harbour, for transportation and seafood gathering. Another aim of the land reclamation was to attract and entice population growth through the establishment of viable land for dwelling, infrastructure and pastoralism.

Beyond and in addition to the positive stories of the uplift and the transformation the earthquake bestowed upon Napier, are equally important stories of loss and lamentations which were felt among the local Māori: the rise of new land came at the expense of an existing marine

ecosystem. The Lagoon, Te Whanganui-a-Orotū, was drastically reduced in size. The kete kai which had sustained the people for centuries prior had, for the most part, been lost.

Kaumatua Tuahine Northover (1928-2011; Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngai Te Upokoiri, Ngati Porou) remarked on an edition of the television programme Te Hau Kainga (Rangiaho, 2010), on the significance of the Lagoon prior to the earthquake.

... te Whanganui[-a-Orotu] ko te oranga o te iwi. He maha nga oranga i roto noa nga kaimoana, e ra ahuatanga, nga ika, nga kuku, nga pipi, nga ahuatanga i roto i te Whanganui tera wa.

[... the Lagoon was the sustenance of the people. Their survival depended upon the seafood, such as fish, mussels, pipi, all found in the Lagoon.]

(T. Northover, in Rangiaho (2010))

He recalls the abundance of the food source in his younger years, many of which, given his year of birth (1928), would have been after the earthquake. Yet the narrative suggests that the occurrence of the earthquake was a consequence of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū being mistreated. The assumption here is that the developments of the nineteenth century which spoiled the Lagoon had angered the gods, who reacted by causing the earthquake. While remnants of the Lagoon may have remained viable for harvesting in the early years after the earthquake, it would be no surprise that the urban and infrastructural developments in the region would not have helped the sense of loss felt strongly among the local Māori.

This narrative was supported by kaumatua Heitia Hiha. He recounted that in spite of the opportunities that emerged through the land reclamation, the local Māori still held the Lagoon in high regard.

[The loss of the kaimoana/seafood] hasn't been [overcome] because unfortunately they've built industries around. The industries pollute the habitat. Crazy things like the new bridgeway just on the southern end of it, they dug a big hole, and put all the asbestos in there. And put all those poisonous things all there, and that's seeping into the estuary. Then you have firths - the concrete people. All their paru [waste] comes down out into the lagoon area too, and you see where their pipe comes out, it bubbles

grease and all sorts.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

Industrial developments are difficult to contend with because they are often seen as being made out of necessity, or else seen with the intention of generating economic growth. This was the case with the 1931 earthquake. It is reasonable to assume that the plans for such developments were not made in malice; rather they simply saw the opportunity to make the most of what was available and viable land. From a recovery perspective, individuals, households and businesses whose lands and buildings are disrupted by a natural hazard may choose to seek pastures anew. From the 1931 earthquake, the uplift presented a worthy opportunity for businesses to either recuperate from their losses, as well as for new businesses to establish themselves by utilising the new land.

After the earthquake and immediate relief works came the intensive task of rebuilding. The opportunities which the uplift of the Lagoon afforded to the rest of Napier cannot be doubted. At the same time, however, the local Māori have cause to look back on the food source which for many generations sustained their communities, and the waters over which they acted as guardians. From this viewpoint, it is understandable that the local Māori would regard actions which were perceived to have caused the earthquake with disdain.

The loss of the Lagoon also meant the loss of large numbers of fish. Such a sight would have done nothing to improve the local Māori's cause for grievance.

[T]he raising up of the land left big pools and I had relatives from Petane and in the first few weeks they would go into the pools and there would be fish there [...] But eventually of course, the fish started to die because the water started to go down, and they had no fresh air, and the place just became a stinkhole.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

By considering the element of spirituality to which the local Māori regarded the Lagoon, as a place of ritual, as a place of undertaking cultural food harvesting practise and the consequent intergenerational transfer of knowledge and reinforcing of familial ties, as a place from which they drew identity, as well as as a food source and an environmental feature, the sense of loss

begins to become clearer. It therefore suggests that the loss of the Lagoon constitutes a significant loss of mana amongst the local Māori. It may not be set out in such explicit terms, but it is still relevant. The role of kaitiaki is bestowed upon them by their ancestors; not having a Lagoon to keep guard of reflects this loss of mana.

Remnants of the Ahuriri Lagoon and surrounding waters are still used for food collection. There remain concerns as to the extent to which this is being done.

Mind you, you see a sugarbag of cockles would be around twenty kilo. A kilogram of cockles at Pak 'n Save - \$8.00. The cost is great. One of things it causes is whakamā [shyness]. Because people come to Petane and they say, "Aww... where your cockles?" And of course "Ooh... sorry". So the whakamā hurts. You go to Tangoio, the same thing. "Where is your crayfish?" These are the things that hurt. These are the things that affect our people.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

As far as the local Māori are concerned, the sad thing is that the activities which were perceived to have caused the 1931 earthquake (the 'angering' of Ruamoko) are still ongoing in the present day. To that end it perpetuates the factors which have in turn led to the widespread feelings of grief and loss amongst the local Māori, through the subsequent loss of the Lagoon. This is a cultural aspect which, when framing the cause of the earthquake from a Māori perspective, cannot be ignored. The tribes of Ahuriri wish to maintain their role as kaitiaki over the water, a responsibility bestowed upon on them through their ancestors, in order that they can assert their authority and exercise hospitality (manaakitanga) to the visitors of the land.

A common scenario and indeed an expectation in a marae setting is that the marae and its community must be able to cater for themselves and their guests during a ceremonial occasion. This is a source of pride amongst maraes, as well as an indicator of how well a marae functions in its ability to host its visitors. In pre-earthquake times, the Lagoon, as a kete kai for the local tribes where, in spite of the tribal warfare and conquests, was sustained. In the present day, the loss of most of the Lagoon makes this impractical and largely impossible. From Heitia's point of view, remnants of the Lagoon where seafood still lives are being over-fished. Consequently,

the pride with which the marae of the Ahuriri tribes erodes; whakamā encroaches and takes its place.

Overcoming the losses raises the question of what the Ahuriri tribes set out to do in response. For the Ahuriri tribes, answering this question entails looking back at the history of the Ahuriri Block:

Now you see our people under Tareha [Te Moananui], one of the local rangatira at the time, when they sold off the Ahuriri Block [in 1851], about 2650 acres, when they sold it off and they were around the other side of the port at the bottom of Burns Rd where they signed the transaction. Looking out at the block, Tareha said, “the land you see is yours. The water is ours”. And we have that battle of the water today.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

Given that a significant majority of the Lagoon was lost to the uplift, the ‘battle of the water’ is a complicated endeavour. By laying out the course of events which have led to the tribes’ current predicament, it may be seen clearer. The purchase of the Ahuriri Block by the Napier Harbour Board in 1851 stipulated that the Harbour Board would exercise leasehold rights over the land within the block, whilst the water would remain for the Ahuriri tribes’ customary use and that their authority over the Lagoon would not be hindered. Inevitably, the rising pollution of the Lagoon did hinder this authority and affect the stock of the kete kai. This consequently with a gradual loss of mana amongst the tribes, culminating in the 1931 earthquake as the ultimate expression of mana.

For the Ahuriri tribes, the loss of the Lagoon is seen in its simplest sense: what was once water is now land. The area will not be restored to water unless a major natural event occurs. Yet it can be considered a loss of mana if the cause of the 1931 earthquake is regarded as a consequence of their failure to maintain their role as kaitiaki. From this perspective, the significance of the Lagoon and the endurance of its losses may be better understood. Moreover, when the common narratives of earthquake recovery tell of the good that emerged through reclamation, there is, in this case, a deeper and largely unheard narrative. When I asked kaumatua Heitia Hiha what needed to be achieved to address such issues, he replied that “recognition is the main thing” (personal communication, February 8, 2018).

Achieving recognition for the plight of the Lagoon made its first steps in 1992 with a report made to the Waitangi Tribunal. The report, titled Wai 55, examines the legislature surrounding the 1851 Crown purchase of the Ahuriri Block. It was eventually submitted in 1995 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995). The main cause for concern in Wai 55 rests with the uplifted land from the former Te Whanganui-a-Orotū coming under Crown leasehold after the 1931 earthquake. Parsons (1992) in a supplementary document to Wai 55 notes that the Crown asserted their rights to the leasehold title by affirming that the tribes' customary rights over the Lagoon, as in, the water, were subject to tidal changes between within territorial limits. It was under these pretences that the Crown went about land reclamation after the earthquake.

Unfortunately for the Ahuriri tribes, the purchase of the Block made no provisions for what should happen to water masses which transform into land masses due to a natural event. Their losses therefore encompass not only the loss of the Lagoon, but the subsequent developments made on uplifted and reclaimed land from which they did not benefit.

The call for recognition was advanced further in 2009 with the formation of an entity called Mana Ahuriri Incorporated (MAI). MAI is the amalgamation of the seven Ahuriri tribes with the intention of representing the tribes in their efforts to seek redress from their perceived losses, and to stake claims which better recognise the historical and cultural significance of the Lagoon. The reason these are made through an amalgamation is suggested that the Crown would better recognise the collective agenda of a single, large entity rather than the separate agendas of multiple, smaller groups. MAI are also mandated to pursue and uphold the needs of the Ahuriri tribes beyond those claims relating to the former Lagoon.

There was not time nor is there room here to examine deeply the specific cases pursued by MAI. It is nevertheless an important indicator that the losses of the past endure today, even amongst the generations who follow. For the Ahuriri tribes who regarded the Lagoon as an area of great significance, the Lagoon cannot nor will it ever be restored to its former state. Whether the historical grievances will be abated remains to be seen. As far as mana is concerned, Heitia's call for recognition may well be the formative step in establishing a 'new' mana.

By using mana to understand recovery, the scenario of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū depicts a process that neither started with the earthquake nor finished when the bulk of rebuilding in

Napier was complete. Rather, it encompasses looking back further to the aspirations of the first Māori settlers in Ahuriri, as well as looking forward to the knowledge, capacities and fortitude of the coming generations in order that they can continue meeting the deeds of those who have gone before them.

Part II: The “Disaster after the Disaster”: The 1986 Closure of the Whakatū Works

Purpose of this Section

Before continuing I feel it necessary to provide a brief backdrop on why I have included this section. It was by all accounts an unexpected (from the perspective of a researcher unfamiliar with the history of Hawke’s Bay) yet I feel vital revelation to me for understanding disaster recovery from a Māori perspective in the context of Hawke’s Bay. Whilst there is no explicit causation between the 1931 earthquake and the setting of the freezing works as will be discussed, this section posits that the earthquake, as an event which contributes to the present-day social and economic fabric of the Hawke’s Bay region, gave rise to a host of imbricated factors which followed through to the middle of the twentieth century. By identifying these factors in turn, it is possible to chart the course of events which led to the rise, decline and eventual closures of the Whakatū and Tomoana Freezing Works, two of the most prominent meat works industries in Hawke’s Bay. The Whakatū Works closed on 10 October 1986; the Tomoana Works closed on 19 August 1994.

As to the Works’ closure, it may be considered a disaster in its own right. They were termed as such in news reports and media accounts of the time (Television New Zealand, 1986, October 10–14). The unexpectedness of the closures left some 1500 to 2000 people out of work. For many of these workers they lost their main source of income. Immediate consequences included a rise in crimes, drugs use, violence and gang activity in communities where workers and their families lived. The resultant fallout eventually necessitated government intervention to assist those out of work, though they were not initially forthcoming (Television New Zealand, 1986, October 10–14).

Just as those who faced the adversity presented by the 1931 earthquake had to overcome it, so too did the individuals, households and communities affected by the Works’ closures. The narrative of recovery presented in this section focuses on Whakatū, and draws largely from an interview with Des Ratima, a resident who spent part of his youth employed at the Whakatū Works. Also relevant is how the Works was an invaluable opportunity for young workers, especially Māori, to adjust to new conditions which had been brought about by the region’s

recovery following the 1931 Hawke's Bay. He talks of the profound effects the Work's closure had on Whakatū, and of the eventual realisation to re-establish a community which could prosper economically and socially. This section therefore presents a range of initiatives which have emerged in Whakatū in the past thirty years. Accordingly, this gives stature to how recovery unfolds in a community with a large proportion of Māori, and indeed when such initiatives are spearheaded within a Māori 'frame of mind'. Specific dates and events pertaining to the Works have been collected from archival materials, principally newspaper articles from the Hawke's Bay Knowledge Bank.

The effects of the Whakatū Work's closures were examined in a series of studies led by the late Vera Keefe-Ormsby. Two of her studies are of interest to this thesis: the first, she made in association with Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated (Keefe et al., 2002); the second study being her Masters thesis undertaken with Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). Her thesis explored some of the psychological and cultural impacts of the Works' closure upon Māori. Together, her studies are used to corroborate the material I have collected through interviews and archives.

The proclivity for a community to prosper, it would seem, is rooted in its ability to pull together in the face of adversity. For the people of Whakatū, the closure of the Works is still in the living memory of many. This sentiment would have doubtless echoed with the people of Hawke's Bay following the 1931 earthquake. The parallels of adversity and its overcoming from the perspective of the Māori people provide an interesting and meaningful base in understanding that recovery is just as much concerned with the intangible, social and cultural factors as it is with the tangible reconstruction of buildings and infrastructure. As is the case with the 1931 earthquake, the hardships experienced by those who lived through the event have paved a sense of resilience which can also be seen by the communities affected by the Works' closures.

After the Earthquake: Hawke's Bay Flourishes

The years following the 1931 earthquake were punctuated with Depression and warfare. A survivor told me that people 'got on with it' in spite of difficult circumstances. In Hawke's Bay, as in throughout New Zealand, growing urbanisation compelled young people to look for work in the more built up areas of town. Whilst such endeavours for gainful employment might

not receive second thought today, the relatively new mid-century conditions were unfamiliar and required adjustment. This was a significant transformation in livelihood for all, especially for Māori.

In 1944, with large numbers of men overseas at war, the Government introduced a series of Manpower regulations which stipulated that able-bodied individuals must work in essential industries. These regulations were a precursor of sorts to the increasing urbanisation that charted the course of mid-century life throughout New Zealand, as more employment opportunities became available in the urban areas. In the case of Napier, reclaimed land from the former Lagoon was made available for farming, agriculture, and other industrial development. The current Hawke's Bay Airport is situated on reclaimed land. Agricultural industries which had existed as small operations prior to the earthquake latched on to the new opportunities which emerged in the mid-century, and were thus able to expand their operations. For the Māori in Hawke's Bay, many of whom were living in the rural and provincial hinterlands, the Manpower regulations sent them into the urban centres. The population growth in Hawke's Bay after the 1931 earthquake and Second World War led to Napier and Hastings being proclaimed as cities in 1950 and 1956 respectively. Both events may be considered milestones in the formative history of the region as the population growth enticed economic growth and development. It is reasonable to expect that Napier's and Hastings' relatively high populations would have been a stark contrast to the social and communal settings to which most Māori of the time would have been accustomed.

The Whakatū Works operated under the banner of the Hawke's Bay Farmers' Meat Company (HBFMC), a name which was retained until the Work's closure. The influx of young, able-bodied workers to urban centres generated wealth and furthered economic development in the Hawke's Bay region. In spite of the rise of 'white collar' professions, mid-century economy in Hawke's Bay was still heavily based in farming and agriculture.

The Works' lucrative gains came with the need to adjust to new and unfamiliar living conditions. Young people from the hinterlands and smaller provincial towns needed to adjust to the relatively urban setting of the Whakatū and Tomoana Works. Often this would take them away from their homes. For the Māori who were used to communal living amongst immediate

and extended family, this adjustment would doubtless have been difficult, yet necessary to make a living. The routines and tasks of shift work would also have been a new thing. Many single workers, particularly those from out of town, were accommodated on-site in purpose-built billets adjacent to the Works (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008).

In spite of these challenges, the Works provided a stable, if not modest living for those who were employed there. It was described as the ‘University of Life’, and as Keefe-Ormsby (2008) stated: “Around 40 percent of the workforce was Māori and the Works was a place where they learned reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and culture), as well as the intricacies of the meat industry” (p. 1). The pattern of living enabled by employment at the Works afforded its workers the opportunity to advance themselves in what was regarded as a prosperous industry; to provide for their families; and to equip themselves with the ability to enter a further career if they wished. For the Māori cohort, the Works was a space not only to come to grips with the meat industry, but to also interface with the changing social organisation and status in New Zealand during the second half of the twentieth century.

For Whakatū, the growth of the Works brought prosperity to the community (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008, p. 9):

A small community developed around the Whakatū Works. Land was subdivided for cropping and fattening stock and rose in value. By the 1970s, Whakatū had flourished into a thriving community with a shop, butchery, garage and community hall. Many of the residents were employed at Whakatū. Likewise, many of the residents of neighbouring marae communities such as Kohupātiki, Waipatū, Ōmahu and Matahiwi were also employed at the Works [also T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018]. It was common for parents for parents and siblings to be working side by side at the Works and to arrange for jobs for sons, brothers, wives and even distant relatives. Often, several generations could claim a common work history at the plant. As a consequence, very strong family and kin networks had grown and extended throughout the Works and social contact in the community was reflected by, and reinforced in the workforce.

Des Ratima recalled his first encounter with the Works at 16 years-old when his father took him and his brother to meet his boss who was Pākehā. He and his brother were told in no uncertain terms to speak only when spoken to, and be sure to address the boss as ‘sir’. Ratima remembered his father being similarly deferential, to the point where the encounter is still vivid in his memory today. He suggested that such a situation was typical of the time, when Māori households and families were trying to find their feet in a society which could easily recall the difficulties Māori faced in retaining their language and advancing their own affairs (D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018).

The closure of the Whakatū Works came suddenly on the 10th of October 1986. The Government of the time had indicated potential for drastic changes within the meatworks industry. Nevertheless, the Works’ closure was unexpected and its impacts exacerbated by a perceived lack of support structures to assist those who had lost their jobs (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). Tom Mulligan, kaumātua of Matahiwi marae, remarked that the closures were the biggest loss of livelihood in the community’s history (T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018). As with the 1931 earthquake, it is reasonable to assume that the memories and experiences of hardship remain in those who were affected by the closure of the Whakatū Works.

The Closure and its Effects

The immediate consequences of the Works’ closures are a strong indicator of why these events may well be considered a disaster. Some 2000 people lost their jobs; for many of these families and households, employment at the Works was often their main source of income. To lose this so suddenly was hugely distressing. News reports told of the outpouring of disbelief towards the closures, swiftly followed by anger in the days following (Television New Zealand, October 11–14, 1986). Some workers found out about the closures through friends, family or media before they were able to find out first-hand (Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). Much of the shock also came from the disbelief that a closure of such a scale could affect a major industry in New Zealand. A way of life which had been established over the course of some three decades had been disrupted. This was a pattern observed throughout New Zealand during the latter half of the twentieth century, as a consequence mainly of economic reform and the shift away from

pastoralism as a mainstay in New Zealand industry. Other freezing works throughout the country closed. Indeed, the Tomoana Works in Hastings closed in 1994, eight years after Whakatū.

The initial responses, particularly those of disbelief, are similar to the perceptions felt among people who have experienced a natural hazard event. That was the case for the 1931 earthquake. As far as the closures were concerned however, it could be argued that anger towards them was heightened because they were regarded as preventable, unlike natural events whose scale and magnitude may be difficult to comprehend in comparison. Keefe-Ormsby (2008) term the Work's closure as an involuntary job loss. Literature on involuntary job loss draws a similarity with the feelings and experiences associated with bereavement, where an individual by virtue of his employment has built up a relationship with his work as well as an occupational identity, the abrupt losses of which have detrimental effects on his health and wellbeing (Keefe et al., 2002; Hill, as cited in Keefe-Ormsby, 2008). For Whakatū, the involuntary job losses associated with the closures of the Works were largely the result of political and economic changes throughout New Zealand.

Amongst other effects of involuntary job loss are the impacts on health. Keefe et al. (2002) found an association between involuntary job loss and an increased risk of self-harm leading to hospitalisation or death. Des Ratima in our discussions described the sense of anguish which followed Whakatū's closure, accompanied by an increase in drug use, family breakdowns, divorce and violence (D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018).

As with the effects of the Lagoon's loss in the 1931 earthquake, the effect of the Works' closures on peoples' mana is not immediately obvious. In this context, if mana is considered as the workers' authority or status amongst their family, in their ability to provide for their family and wider community in everyday life, then the Works' closures undoubtedly affected their mana. When the pattern of everyday life suffers, the immediate effects and burden of coping and adjustment can lead to a loss of mana.

From Adversity to Opportunity

Both Tom Mulligan of Matahiwi marae and Des Ratima of Whakatū were of the opinion that the Works' closures, despite their initial detriments, presented new opportunities for their

respective communities. *“Don’t put your all your eggs in one basket ... a lot of people depended on the freezing works for their livelihood ... the closures made them realise they needed to do other things”* (T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018). Tom Mulligan gave a brief account of the changes in everyday life after the Works’ closures from the perspective of the Matahiwi community: Matahiwi realised the potential of attracting tourists and visitors to their community by offering their marae facilities for accommodation and hosting various functions (T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018). This is not an unusual scenario for other marae throughout New Zealand. As mentioned in the previous section, findings so far demonstrate the value of a marae in bringing people together and fostering a sense of community spirit.

On the morning I visited Matahiwi, a party of visitors from the United States were staying in the main meeting house. From the perspective of recovery, this reinforces the good that can come out of pulling together in adversity. It is also continuity in that the communal element of everyday life in a marae setting persists to this day.



Figure 5. The significance of the Whakatū and Tomoana Freezing Works' closures depicted on a mural in the wharekai (food hall) at Matahiwi Marae, Clive, Hawke's Bay. (Photo: Authors own, February 7, 2018)

On the right hand side of Figure 5, immediately adjacent to the meat works depiction is a series of figures which appear to be ascending a staircase. The staircase is propped up by other figures. There is also a figure which appears to be pulling a rope. Kaumatua Tom Mulligan (personal communication, February 7, 2018) told me that this was a metaphorical likening to Maui ‘pulling up’ the community, in the same way as the story is often told of Maui fishing up the

North Island of New Zealand. The imagery depicts the reality of a community pulling together in adversity to overcome the hardships that the Works' closures presented them. Given the emphasis on communal strength in Māori social organisation, it is an accurate and striking representation of the good that comes through togetherness.

As for the depiction of Maui, there is a similar representation of the roof of the main meeting house of Matahiwi in the form of a carving. This was also, as kaumatua Tom described to me the carving which adorned the roof was important in "keeping the foundation upright" (T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018). It is meaningful because it is something from which his community draws strength and inspiration. In a general sense, it is a telling indication of the different ways in which people and communities sustain themselves, not only when recovering from a disaster but also throughout the course of their everyday lives.

The carving may also be thought of as a nod to ancestral mana. The mural helps retain mana in the sense that such a visual representation, provided it is looked after, will be there for generations to come, thus retaining the 'community' mana.

On the matter of recovery begetting change, I asked kaumatua Tom what he thought some of the most significant changes in Matahiwi were, in the last 50 or so years. His response was that the manual labour jobs of his youth, such as farm hands, fruit and vegetable pickers, are not as popular as they used to be. In part this is because today such tasks have gone the way of the machines.

They were good jobs because they taught discipline; they were jobs which had to be done. People had to get up early to do them. They were jobs which contributed to the wellbeing of the community. They gave a willingness to work. People made money, not a lot, but enough to live.

(T. Mulligan, personal communication, February 7, 2018)

Opportunities are fashioned out of adversity, and it is often adversity which provides an urge for individuals and communities to advance themselves. It causes people to appreciate the value of what they have in terms of employment, wealth and material possessions.

“E Tu, Whakatū”: Stand Up, Whakatū

Whakatū 2020: A village that is friendly, safe, thriving and supported in a harmonious relationship by its industrial neighbours. “Whakatū 100% employed”

(Whakatū Project Control Group, 2014)

Des Ratima provided an account of the opportunities which have fashioned the present social fabric of Whakatū. [Although there cannot be a direct causation made between the Works’ closures and the inception of these initiatives, it is reasonable to suggest that the hardships faced by those affected by the closures [Des] would give them cause to make an improved way of life for themselves and for their children]. There are too many to cover in great detail here; the most significant ones are explained below.

The guiding ethos of Whakatū’s social fabric is, as Des described to me, to foster a community that nurtures and develops the best interests of its children. The intention here is that the children have instilled within them good personal and social values. The prospective outcome of this ethos as the children grow up and are incentivised to contribute back to the community, and in turn pass on the values which they learnt. Community cooperation and reciprocity have longed form the basis of Māori social organisation (Buck, 1958). The ability for Māori to continue doing so has been tested by the fullness of time coupled with the new challenges of modern life.

For Des Ratima and Whakatū, one means of assuring reciprocity from future generations of Māori is through the kōhanga reo (early childhood education; lit. ‘language nest’), an immersion into a learning environment focused on the Māori language and Māori customs. For any culture in contemporary society, maintaining its language is imperative to its survival. Such is the aim of kōhanga reo in Whakatū and throughout New Zealand. Whakatū Te Kōhanga reo (The Kōhanga reo of Whakatū) is run by Des Ratima and his wife. According to Des, it experienced early issues when it first opened in 1983, but has since prospered. The kōhanga reo employs seven staff, all of whom are trained in teaching the Māori language. Ratima also noted that the kōhanga reo’s low staff turnover is indicative of its stability (personal communication, February 9, 2018).

Establishing and maintaining the foundations of the Māori language for the children attending Whakatū is a visible, outward enhancement of mana. There is a mana to being able to speak the Māori language; it is often romanticised, but there is nevertheless a valid substance to it. The survival of the Māori language surely aids in the survival of the Māori culture at large.

Te Kura o Mangateretere (Mangateretere School) is a primary school in Whakatū with an established community history (Education Review Office, 2015). Its roll as of the latest Education Review Office Report (2017) is 33, with all but two students registered as Māori. Des Ratima spoke of the School's 'tumultuous history', recounting stories of bullying as well as unsettled staff. The 2015 report from the Education Review Office suggested that in the main, students were happy at school, but that problems within staff and board management required addressing (Education Review Office, 2015). In short there were problems in the School which according to Ratima necessitated upheaval.

Ratima told me that in 2017, members of the Whakatū community were appointed to the School's Board of Trustees in order to be better positioned to take action against the problems of the School. The outcome of this community intervention was, Ratima recounted, the appointment of a new principal who has since changed the fortunes of Mangateretere in its favour. Ratima himself remarked that "the wairua (spirit) of the school was totally changed" (personal communication, February 9, 2018). By all accounts the actions taken by Whakatū went against the normal procedures of bureaucracy, with the result being in their favour. As evidenced by the 2017 report which notes a marked improvement on school management and governance from the previous report in 2015.

I cannot speak to the orthodoxy of such actions, but in light of their intentions and the manner in which Des Ratima recounted them to me, they would surely enhance the mana of Whakatū. What may well have descended into a serious state of affairs for Mangateretere School has, on the basis of these findings, been mitigated. Ratima's motive behind being involved with the School affairs was to establish a pattern of continuity for its children. His desire was to see the children who attend kōhanga reo kept within a familiar environment as they moved up to primary school. He deemed continuity as being necessary to instil within the children the

experiences of a positive environment. There is a parallel between these efforts for the School and the environment which the Works provided Māori during its operation.

The examples of the School and of Whakatū Te Kōhanga reo are two indicators of what motivates the drive to motivate a community where “children are the future building blocks of Whakatū” (D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018). Creating an environment which contributes the wellbeing of its children in their younger years, in order that they are incentivised to return in adult life, to make their own social and economic contributions within the community, is an enhancement of mana.

The remainder of my discussion with Des Ratima was principally concerned with a project called Whakatū 2020. An explanatory document for the latest iteration of the project was located on the Hastings District Council web site (Whakatū Project Control Group, 2014). The project is spearheaded by the Whakatū Project Control Group (PCG) in which Ratima is involved. The PCG rallies a range of stakeholders such as the Hastings District Council, Te Puni Kokiri, as well as local residents and industries to collaborate towards:

“increased employment opportunities, a desire to create more wealth and economic activity in the community, endeavour to beautify the residential and natural environment, make every effort to improve youth education and training opportunities and uphold community social and cultural development”

(Whakatū Project Control Group, 2014; p. 6).

Strategic goals for the project are thus classified into six categories as illustrated in Figure 5 (p. 80).

WHAKATU COMMUNITY PLAN 2015 - 2020

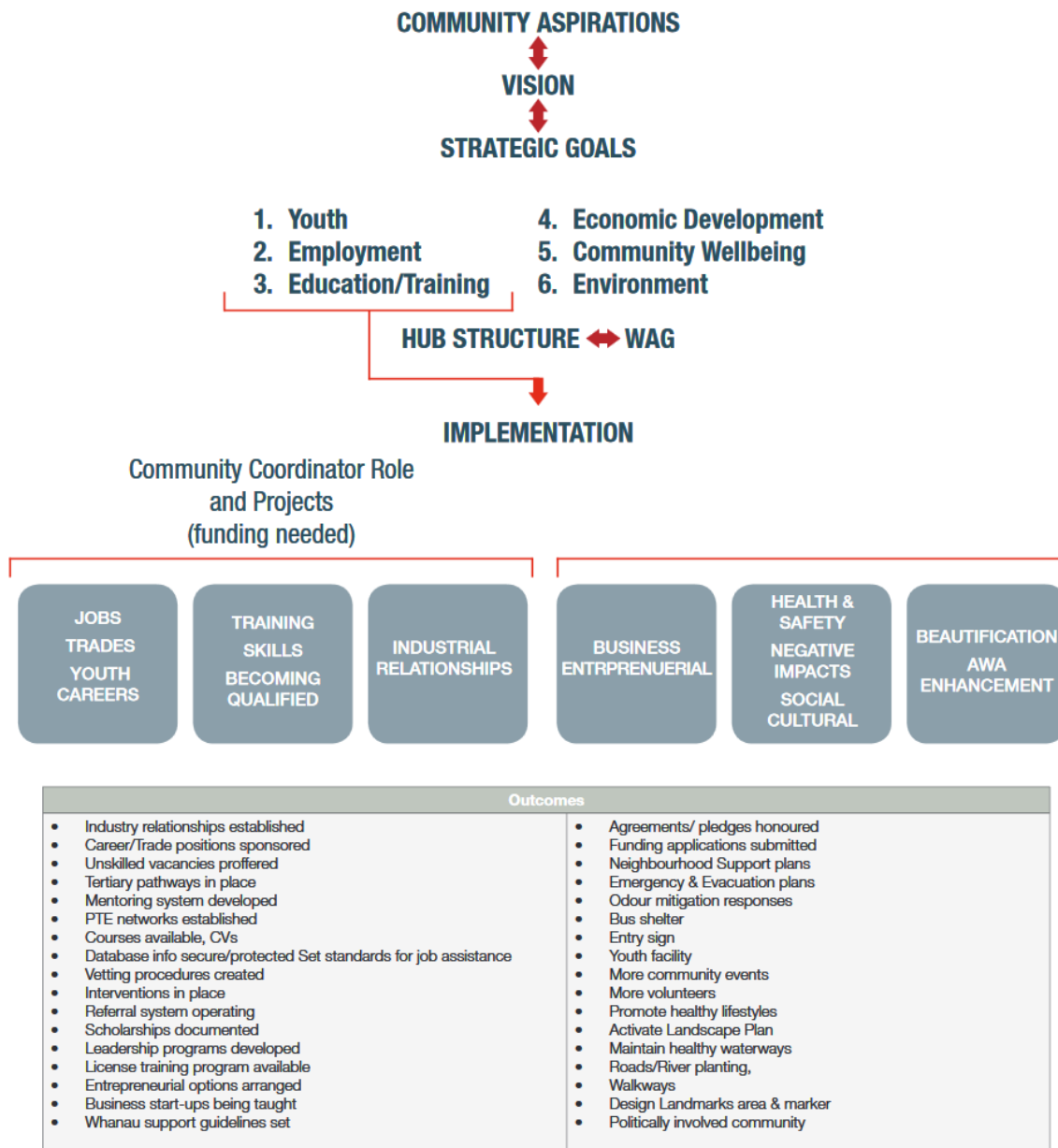


Figure 6. Schematic outline of Whakatū 2020 (Source: Whakatū Project Control Group, 2014).

There is no space here to examine the implementation of the plan in great detail. Its inclusion here serves as an indicator of potential means to advance the prosperity of Whakatū, and in turn, enhance its mana. The desire for outcomes rooted in community co-operation as well as

individual entrepreneurship suggest that the plan caters to both the collective and individual mana of the people of Whakatū. In short, the intentions of Whakatū 2020 are promising. It will be interesting to see if their goals will come into fruition. Some actions outlined in the plan have already begun. Ratima mentioned that the construction of roads, cycle tracks and walkways in Whakatū are already being carried out to make the area a more attractive one.

Ratima frequently used the word resilience during our discussion. When I asked if his aspirations for Whakatū were in any way motivated by the Works' closure, he said that such was the mindset of the Whakatū community at large, many of whom had experienced for themselves the impacts of the closure. These impacts coupled with the gradual economic dilapidation of Whakatū compelled Ratima to essentially 'do his bit' in transforming the community. 'Transformation', Ratima explained, was the preferred term over 'change'. He said that change implies there is an end point to a process, whereas transformation means that the process is ongoing. It is fair to suggest that this mindset is buoyed by a community which is resilient to the stressors of everyday life, and that the Works' closures is one such stressor that endures as a motivating force behind the transformation of Whakatū.

Summary

The present social and economic fabric of Whakatū is an example of overcoming adversity, not dissimilar to the ways in which Hawke's Bay as a region overcame the adversity of the 1931 earthquake. The closure of the Whakatū Works in 1986 may surely be considered a disaster in its own right. It caused great uncertainty for its workers, and the social and economic consequences of the closure have endured to this day. Nevertheless, the section has tried to build an earnest and authentic narrative of recovery, spearheaded largely by members of Whakatū who had experienced first hand the hardships of the Work's closure.

The evolution and eventual closure of the Works shows how a community changes over time. It shows how a community adjusts to new conditions and needs. The growth of the Works from its smaller operation in the early twentieth century and after the 1931 earthquake represents the rise of a prosperous post-war pastoralism industry. Although the flourishing of the Works cannot be directly attributed to the earthquake itself, the significance of its closure is similar to the earthquake in that it brought great change. To this end, life at the Works was a marker for

change amongst communities in Hawke's Bay. For Māori who sought employment there, it was also a chance to acclimatise to an unfamiliar way of life, working and living in a relatively urban area away from the intimate surroundings of home.

With 40 percent of Whakatū's workforce Māori, it cannot be doubted that the Works played a significant part in the everyday lives of many Māori and their families. Beyond the duties of work, such employment provided a camaraderie which was cherished by many. The loss of this camaraderie was felt when then the Works closed. The event of the Work's closure aligns with modern conceptions of disaster, with a hazard, a vulnerable people, and recovery which is rooted in peoples' capacities.

The Māori aspects of Whakatū's closure and the events which have followed highlight the innovative, though certainly not unique ways to foster recovery among Māori, whilst retaining some of the elements of a traditional Māori world view, such as the kōhanga reo. The 'transformation' of Whakatū in the first instance represents confronting and reconciling with the harsh memories of the Work's closure. It also demonstrates that adversity is kept in sight, and that through its overcoming, new opportunities may be developed.

Part III. A Conceptual Basis for Understanding the Role of Mana in Disaster Recovery

Purpose of this Section

The purpose of this section is to draw further on the empirical findings discussed in Parts I and II in order that a deeper, theoretical understanding of disaster recovery from a Māori perspective may be established. To enhance the theoretical foundations, the empirical findings are corroborated with existing literature and the collective expertise of key informants. The foundation upon which these discussions are most concerned with is the principle of mana and its prospective role in recovery. The previous sections have already established links on how mana may be regarded in terms of a loss or gain in response to disaster events and subsequent response. Here it is important to emphasise that the discussions do not wish to explicitly quantify the value of mana, if indeed such a task is possible. The discussion will remain as a qualitative approach.

The 1931 earthquake and freezing works closures follow similar patterns of continuity and change, albeit in remarkably different contexts. In both case studies, Māori were presented with a great adversity which ran parallel with the changing social and economic situations of the era. The aim is to link the section back to the general body of scholarship which focuses on recovery and livelihoods.

A preliminary framework depicting ordinarily the role of mana in everyday life is presented. Bearing in mind the brevity of this section, it is emphasised that such a framework lacks a robustness, with the consequent thought that further research would develop or rebuke it.

Mana and Everyday Life

Mana is so necessary to the Maori because he cannot very well affect his surroundings without involving it in a fellowship, i.e. without possessing its mana, or—in other words—without permeating its mana with his own being.

(Prytz-Johansen, 1954; p. 86)

Necessity does not beget clarity. The following sections therefore aim to shed light on the prospective role of mana in the context of this thesis. In order that this is achieved, mana is applied in the contexts of everyday life, of disasters, and of recovery.

The same may be said when broadening the scope and examining the role of mana in everyday life in general. It is a fundamental component of Te Ao Mārama, the traditional world view in which all forms of life are interconnected. Mana thus exists across all aspects of everyday life (Winiata, 1990). The reality of understanding mana is, however, complicated. Te Ao Māori, indeed the wider Māori world view, has undergone changes of its own both in the passage of time and in the face of significant moments in New Zealand history. There is not a ‘unified’ Māori world view, and although traditional elements, such as mana, are present, not everyone regards it to the same degree. Given this thesis examines the concept of impacts upon livelihoods and by extension, everyday life, it is worthwhile to focus briefly upon the manner in which everyday life has changed amongst the Māori.

The simplest and most appropriate means of conveying the change in Māori world views is to examine how mana is manifest across three different periods of time: a pre-European context, a post-Pākehā settlement (around the mid nineteenth century), and the twentieth century through to the present day.

In a pre-European setting, Māori society was very much insular. They brought the customs and traditions of Ancient Polynesia and adapted them to the terrain of New Zealand. There are no recorded accounts of the pre-European Māori being exposed to any culture outside of their own. Because of this, their senses of understanding were based solely in a ‘Māori’ setting, in as much as the tribes and social groups of the time shared values and customs in spite of ongoing warfare and conquest. Social organisation of this time was largely communal (Best, 1927). It is therefore simpler to discern the role of mana within the community: the chief of a kinship group was thought of as the one who represented the mana of the tribe at large. The deeds of the individuals within the tribes reflected upon the chief, which in turn reflected upon the tribe (Buck, 1958). The natural environment to which the tribe was affiliated, in particular its landmarks such as the mountain or river, was of great significance. Conquests amongst tribes chiefly concerned land, to the point where if a tribe lost its land through conquest, their

mana was severely diminished for they could not carry out the tasks and duties of everyday life.

Pākehā settlement in New Zealand in the nineteenth century would inevitably strip away the insularity to which the Māori were accustomed. When an established way of life is supplanted by another, it leads to discord and a sense of unease amongst those affected. To this end, land often evokes a sense of permanence, whereby land remains whilst the people who occupy it pass on (Hikuroa, 2015). This is summed up in the Māori phrase ‘ka ngaro te tāngata, toitū te whenua’, translated as ‘when people are lost, the land remains’. However, in this period of time, the sense of permanence would come under scrutiny as many Māori regarded the legal and illegal acquisition of land by the Pākehā as an affront to their mana. The result today is a political scene where Māori tribes’ grievance claims seek redress for the deeds of the past. These claims are often made on the basis that such redresses may be a step in ‘regaining’ the mana of their tribe and of their community. These are contentious matters that are not the main concern of this discussion. Rather they are mentioned to make the point that Pākehā settlement exposed Māori to a new way of life, with new technologies, principles and different ideas about ownership, which accordingly shaped and influenced the needs and concerns of Māori through to the next century.

The concept of mana, when applied to an individual, is not restricted to Māori. When a person of high regard passes away, they may often be described as having ‘great mana’ regardless of whether they are Māori or not. In traditional Māori social organisation, the tribal chief was regarded as having a great mana. Greatness was of their own realm, though at the same time they bore the mana of their people (Prytz-Johansen, 1954; Gardiner, 2014). To that end, in a traditional tribe, the motives of an individual which bore influence upon their mana would in turn influence the mana of the tribe at large.

In the course of everyday life in the present day, mana can be similarly conceptualised. The mana of an individual bears effects upon their communal linkages. In general terms, these linkages may begin with one’s immediate family, spreading out across wider kinship relations. Ancestral and celestial links are implied but not always recognised. A basic visualisation of this hierarchy is illustrated on the next page in Figure 7 (p. 86).

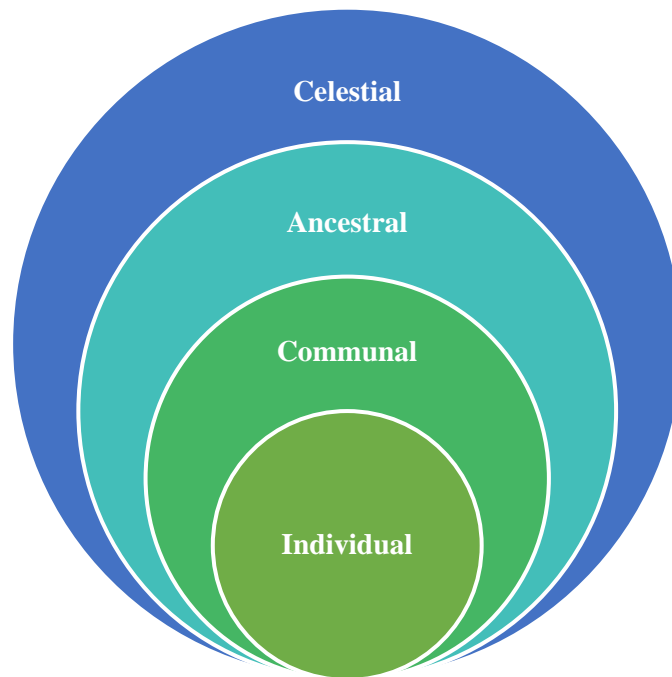


Figure 7. Schematising ordinarily the relationship of mana among individual, communal, ancestral and celestial linkages (Author's own).

The extent that people can associate with all four linkages will vary. Some people only associate consciously with the individual or communal level; not everyone believes in the divine. It can be argued here for the need to distinguish between the traditional spirituality of indigenous world views and the commonplace Judeo-Christian elements of the Western world (Gaillard & Texier, 2010). In a traditional Māori paradigm, spirituality extended to the way in which the natural environment was perceived. In this sense, the mana of an individual was not only derived from his ancestors but also rooted in his particular place of belonging (Shirres, 1997; Royal, 2003). This underlies the basic principle that the mana of an individual is bestowed upon by a higher force.

In contemporary society, the spirituality of old is joined by a host of other factors which influence peoples' everyday lives. For disasters associated with natural events, it is not unusual for people to equate it to acts of God (Bankoff, 2001). There is the associated assumption that the occurrence of disasters are beyond peoples' control (J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018).

This pattern of conceptualisation (Figure 6) is most effective if the bounds of each relation within the overall hierarchy are easily apparent. The unbounded spaces of reality give no certainty to this approach; it can be assumed each person has their own priorities or concerns in life. In instances when the individual tends to focus on themselves, they may not consciously realise the value of linkages outside of their 'own bubble'. To this end, the external aspects may be thought of as buffers from which an individual may draw of their own choosing. In everyday life an individual interacts with those around them where they see fit. In. In doing so their actions are imbued with mana.

For disasters associated with natural events, it is not unusual for people to equate it to acts of God (Bankoff, 2001). There is the associated assumption that the occurrence of disasters are beyond peoples' control (J. Hapuku, personal communication, February 8, 2018).

Mana and Disasters

Mana can be used to conceptualise a disaster through a traditional Māori lens. In this case, the following section examines the position that a disaster constitutes a 'loss of mana' to the point where the habits and customs of everyday are significantly disrupted, and is typically associated with serious injury or death. The latter consequences were clear in the 1931 earthquake, though according to the kaumatua I spoke to, they were not widely felt amongst Māori as many of them lived in the rural hinterlands. For the 1986 Works' closure, a disaster born out of economic disruptions, its consequences cannot be fathomed in the same way. Although there were no immediate deaths, psychological studies (e.g. Keefe et al., 2002; Keefe-Ormsby, 2008) suggest an increase in mental health issues, indicative of the enduring impacts suffered by those affected by the closure.

A disaster may constitute the loss of mana in a number of circumstances. Firstly, if the natural environment is considered from a traditional Māori paradigm whereby phenomena such as earthquakes and flooding are seen as godly acts in response to human transgression. This. This may be regarded as a loss of mana. In the case of the 1931 earthquake, the narratives surrounding the Ahuriri tribes and the despoliation of the Lagoon prior to the earthquake went against their role as environmental guardians (Rangiaho, 2010; H. Hiha, personal

communication, February 8, 2018). To that end, the 1931 earthquake disrupted the mana of the people of Hawke's Bay.

Prytz-Johansen's (1954) interpretation of mana as 'a kind of fellowship' (p. 76) provides a perspective of the viewpoint from within a traditional paradigm where people and the natural environment are akin to each other. From this perspective, the tribes which affiliated with the Lagoon regarded the earthquake as a breakdown of that fellowship, and subsequently a loss of mana.

On the basis that mana links back to the ancestors who first set foot on the land [and the Lagoon] occupied by its descendants, the failure of the Ahuriri tribes resulting in the 1931 earthquake could be perceived as a disruption to the overall mana of the tribe. In this scenario no one individual of the tribe is accountable. The tribes' failures reflects upon the tribe at large, its chiefly ancestors, and would accordingly be a source of whakamā. As kaumatua Heitia Hiha remarked, "the whakamā hurts" (personal communication, February 8, 2018).

Considering the above, it is apparent that the basis of how disasters constitute a loss of mana depend on which line of definition for mana is used. The perspectives developed above give some insight? into ways in which the role of mana in a disaster can be made apparent. However, there is not one unified Māori perspective. For balance, it is therefore pertinent to consider some counterarguments to the same effect.

When events are looked at in a retrospective light, it is easy to identify attributes or circumstances which are not apparent at the time. I spoke briefly with a kaumatua about the 1931 earthquake and how it could be associated with a loss of mana amongst the people affected. Although he was born after the earthquake, he noted the potential bias of hindsight of those who have all the facts of events laid out in front of them. He suggested that for those affected, their focus would have been on coming to terms with what had happened. Mana would not have entered their conscious thought, as in, 'How is this disaster going to affect our mana?' (E. Niania, personal communication, February 6, 2018). However, the responses of those affected which came to pass after the disaster would be the most outward signs of re-establishing mana.

It is fitting here to mention my discussion with Manuka Henare on these matters. The discussion produced two key assertions. Firstly, that mana in the traditional Māori paradigm is intrinsically linked with tapu and wairua. Theologically, wairua and tapu are usually used together to mean ‘holy spirit’ from a Christian perspective (Shirres, 1986) (M. Henare, personal communication, January 16, 2018). His interpretations for tapu and wairua are, potentiality and spirituality respectively. Mauri is also presented as an essential component which forms a wider system of understanding a traditional Māori way of being (Henare, 2001). The principles, their meaning and their potential consequence at the hands of disaster are set out in Table 2.

Table 2. Defining mana, tapu, wairua and mauri in the context of everyday life. Derived from Henare (2001; and personal communication, January 16, 2018).

Principles	Mana	Tapu	Wairua	Mauri
Definition	Fellowship; authority	Potentiality	Spirit	Life force; essence

These four principles constitute what is termed as a ‘sense of meaning’ (Henare, 2001; personal communication, January 16, 2018). The traditional Māori mindset stipulates that a sense of meaning was what influenced individuals and wider kinship groups in their pursuit of advancement and prosperity. With that in mind, if we account for the intermixture of world views which exists in today’s society, the ‘contemporary Māori mindset’ has changed considerably. Can the Māori outlook on society in 1931 truly be compared with 1986 and vice-versa? Disasters disrupt senses of meaning in the same way that the routine and mundaneness of everyday life is disrupted.

This framing manifests itself when looking at the cases of the 1931 earthquake and the 1986 Work’s closure. Analysing both events on the basis of the aforementioned discussions, it can be derived that the spiritual forces and potentiality for being were markedly different. In 1931 the Ahuriri tribes’ bestowed role of guardianship over the Lagoon bore greater resemblance to what are considered today as the traditional Māori ways of living prior to immersion in a Western life. After the earthquake, the deeds, knowledges, actions and values relating to the Lagoon would give way to the changes which became necessary as the Lagoon was lost. On

the other hand, the Works represented Māori who had adjusted to a more contemporary pattern of living, much more aligned with the familiarities of workplace routine in the Western world. The sense of meaning which developed in the setting of the Works was one which emulated tradition. The Works became a focal point for togetherness and fashioned a camaraderie akin to what the marae was in a traditional Māori setting. It was a space where the social structures of the marae were formed without the physical manifestation of a traditional marae itself. It cannot be claimed to be result of systemic planning on the side of the workers. Rather, rather it was the outcome of an unfamiliar situation which presented itself to Māori, and was dealt with accordingly. In the marae's absence, the Works provided a setting upon which Māori were able to assert their mana. Though not fully so because the broader operation of the Works by Hawke's Bay Farmers' Meat Company did not offer Māori a true agency. Rather, Māori were compelled to operate within the bureaucratic structures of the company. In any case, they had taken the space to heart, moulded and cherished it. They moulded a sense of meaning from the Works.

Michael Steedman offers another viewpoint on these matters. He was unsure about how easily a disaster event on its own could be considered as a loss of mana. Disasters themselves could be considered as absolute 'markers' embedded within the wider context of a region. In the case of Hawke's Bay, the 1931 earthquake and Work's closures are significant markers. If we arrange the broader context of the region into a timeline, we will notice that it is punctuated with other events significant to Māori in the twentieth century, for instance loss of land and loss of language (M. Steedman, personal communication, March 27, 2018). From this perspective, times of adversity beget change amongst those affected. For Māori, the value of mana rests in the underlying ability to function in everyday life. When the ability for a community to function is disrupted, so too is its mana.

Mana and Recovery

If disasters are absolute markers of mana, then responses of a disaster-affected community to overcome adversity reflect a relative change of mana over time. In the first instance

Recognition both contributes to and challenges the wider narrative of the 1931 earthquake. In spite of the hardship the earthquake presented an opportunity for people throughout Hawke's

Bay to advance themselves. Recognition of hardship and its challenges calls to mind the deeds of those who were faced with it. Though recalling such events memories may be unpleasant, they are part of the building blocks which pave their lives as well as the lives of those generations which follow. For the Ahuriri tribes affected by the loss of the Lagoon, recovery entails recognition.

H: A lot of our land unfortunately went under Lease after the earthquake, and leased to local Pākehā and farmers and that. Strangely, our people went to work on their own land for the farmer they leased it to, or they went to work for someone else, the Public Works Department, or the County Council. So you have this strange situation, when they wanted to drain the Lagoon, so they dug all these drains and our men there, my grandfather, I can remember him, all of our men at our marae putting their boots and getting on their bicycles and riding from Petane to the Lagoon with their shovels to dig the drains and drain the water.

X: Have those land issues been resolved?

H: No, well, so far they offered the land back to us except the southern section on the southern side of [edge], they offered it back to us if we paid \$19.2 million, we could buy it back from them.

X: Buy back your own land?

...

X: What do you think needs to be achieved to fix things?

H: Recognition is the thing you see, because that endowment fund was transferred to the Hawke's Bay Regional Council who wanted to build that big dam. They've spent, what, twenty-odd million of it just to investigate? But no one says, "but this endowment land was part of the Māori side". Recognition is the main thing.

(H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018)

Claim submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s and 1990s were the first steps to recognition. Here though, the matter of the Lagoon following the earthquake was only a small subset of what were perceived to be more diverse claims of loss and injustice. The joining of

the seven Ahuriri tribes to form Mana Ahuriri Incorporated (MAI) is a step towards recognition of issues which hold a great significance to them. MAI's purpose is in its name. According to its mandating strategy (2009), the seven tribes of Ahuriri maintain distinct identities but have commonalities in their shared ancestry and areas of interest; they come together in order that their voices may be recognised on a larger and arguably more authoritative platform. In other words, the intent is to restore the mana.

Within these matters, there is the practical aspect to be considered. What becomes of what is lost? For the Ahuriri tribes, the Lagoon is not there anymore. They cannot go back to the way things were before the earthquake yet their side of events is unheard of in light of the positive stories of recovery from the quake. Nor can the workers of Whakatū go back.

The initial responses to disaster are a way of determining the role of mana in the recovery of a community. Given the assertion that disasters disrupt peoples' senses of meaning, recovery is just as much concerned with creating a new sense of meaning as it is with keeping in mind what was lost (M. Henare, personal communication, January 16, 2018). Yet as was briefly mentioned in the previous section, there is an element of pragmatism that is, to my mind, merely human nature, and accordingly it cannot, nor does it warrant too deep an explanation.

As an example, Māori offering their marae for shelter after the 1931 earthquake is a typical expression of mana (Rangiaho, 2010). On the basis that manaakitanga (hospitality) becomes the new 'sense of meaning' after the earthquake, the mana of the Māori who offer their marae is enhanced, which brings benefit both to them and to those who were able to use the marae for shelter.

“Ngai Whakatū”

The Works' closures is perhaps a more telling example of finding a renewed purpose. The diverse endeavours of Whakatū were set up, as Des Ratima told me, with the intention of establishing a promising future for the young people of the community. As examples, kōhanga reo provides an environment for children to become immersed in a setting based upon the foundations of traditional Māori thinking and doing (tikanga) is a good example too on the basis that the main intention of the kohanga movement in the eighties was a response to the distress that the Māori language was dying; the governance of Whakatū is, as Des claims,

influenced by people who knew first hand the difficulties of the Whakatū Works' closure in 1986 (D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018). The development of Whakatū since has been a way for its people to assert their own mana upon their community, whilst fashioning a way of life that affords decent opportunities for its children, all of which are underpinned by the events which have caused them to be where they are.

Summary

The toils of hardship often bring people together. This is not a unique aspect to any particular culture or race. But cultures or races can have diverse and often innovative ways of responding to adversity. This section has briefly covered some of the philosophical and conceptual insights concerning mana and its role in disaster recovery. It has established the significance of mana in everyday life; easier said than done because mana is neither explicit nor tangible. Instead, it is reflected in peoples' deeds and actions. Mana may be used as a conceptual basis to understand the value of kinship linkages beyond the individual realm (Figure 7). Because everybody has different natures, it serves as only a very generalised account of understanding the disruptions which adverse events cause to their everyday life, and by that reckoning also disrupt their mana.

The losses suffered by the Ahuriri tribes through the uplift of the Lagoon in 1931 are considered a loss of mana on the basis that the kinship between the tribes and the Lagoon was disrupted. The tribes maintained ancestral links to the Lagoon, and accordingly inherited mana from those who first set foot on the soils of Ahuriri. From there, the role of guardianship which was expected of them failed to address the encroaching anthropogenic developments which were to meet the demands of population growth in Hawke's Bay, but at the detriment of the Lagoon. Consequently, a loss of mana was suffered when the earthquake struck.

As Heitia remarked, "for Māori, it [Ahuriri] was of more value underwater than on land" (personal communication, February 9, 2018). This is the enduring avenue of loss which the Ahuriri tribes are faced with in the present day, and is something which Mana Ahuriri Incorporated is seeking to redress.

Meanwhile, the closure of the Works in 1986 was a significant loss on the basis that it disrupted a social and economic structure fashioned out of challenging circumstances for Māori

following the Second World War. From today's perspective it is perhaps a more relatable loss than the loss of the Lagoon because by this time, the Māori 'sense of meaning' had been blended far more with the typical Western way of life through factory work in a commercially-operated setting.

Perhaps the main message that this section establishes is that recovery from a disaster goes beyond enumerating fatalities and costs of repairs, as significant and necessary processes as they are. The physical reconstruction of buildings and structures, which often serve as markers for how well a community is recovering, are only one dimension of what is inevitably an enduring and far more complex endeavour than is immediately obvious. The stories of the 1931 earthquake, the Lagoon, and the Works reveal a largely intangible thread of understanding which helps weave the present social fabric of Hawke's Bay.

Chapter Six:

Reflecting on Māori Perspectives of Recovery

The findings thematised in the previous chapter offer three distinct insights into documenting disaster recovery from a Māori perspective in Hawke's Bay. The third part of the previous chapter may be considered a discussion its own right, given its purpose of establishing a conceptual basis for understanding the potential significance of mana in disaster recovery. This chapter discusses the findings with broader relevance to the concepts of recovery from chapter two. In a broad sense, the chapter anticipates that the presentation and interpretation of the findings in this thesis runs parallel with the conceptual evolution of recovery, as expressed in chapter two. To that effect, the findings are corroborated with present tensions within recovery literature. A contrast between the framework for mana as developed through the findings, and the conceptual livelihoods framework by Gaillard and Cadag (2009) is made.

The chapter also endeavours to ascertain the qualitative value and legitimacy of the findings with respect to the wider relevance of the thesis to the field of indigenous studies. This is achieved through an exploration of such concepts as kinship and spirituality. The chapter ends by briefly mentioning some incidental material of general relevance and interest to the overall subject matter. These were not intended to be used for research or extensive analysis in the scope of the thesis. Their mentioning is appropriate because they explore the theme of mana, and, broadly, its restoration. Overall, it is intended that this chapter analyses and substantiates the epistemological, ontological and cultural contributions that Māori perspectives have to offer to disaster recovery.

Revisiting the Conceptual Evolution

It was established at the outset of this thesis that there is a need to challenge and broaden conceptions of disaster, by way of moving forward from preconceived notions that do not align with meeting the needs and perspectives of communities or societies affected (Wisner et al., 2003). Moving beyond common disaster narratives serves to give stature to the lesser known accounts which may in turn uncover a rich history of the present-day social, political and

economic fabrics of a given community. The findings of this thesis lend weighting to the assertion that a ‘disaster’ should encompass not only the consequences of natural hazard events, but also hazards of a social, economic, political or technological base. Incorporating a world view essentially adds another layer of conception upon which shared experiences and realised and discerned.

The findings of this thesis do well to offer alternative conceptualisations of disaster. For the Ahuriri tribes affected by the 1931 earthquake, the significance of the event was not as much defined by structural damages or loss of life as was the case for other locals in Hawke’s Bay. Instead, it was the uplift and subsequent loss of the Lagoon to which the tribes held an utmost significance. In a Māori context, the loss of any given feature of the natural environment, particularly one which provided sustenance of the community who belonged to it, is an affront to the mana of the greater tribe (Rangiaho, 2010; H. Hiha, personal communication, February 8, 2018). The Ahuriri tribes’ conception of disaster was tied to the loss of the Lagoon, perceived as a consequence for their collective failure to uphold their role as kaitiaki.

The Works closure aligns with the broadened conceptions of disaster. The hazard associated with it is rooted in social and economic bases. It is a disaster because the event of the closure was perceived to have brought harm upon a vulnerable community, in this case the workers, who were suddenly unable to meet their daily needs. Given the assertion that disasters are merely amplifiers of everyday needs and hardship which already exists in daily life (Gaillard et al., 2013), it can be discerned that for the Māori who suffered from the Works closure, they were largely ill-equipped to cope with an unexpected event such as job loss. Keefe-Ormsby (2008) substantiates this by stating that a lack of support structures in place at the time of the closure proved challenging for the affected workers as they initially tried to cope.

Testing the Conceptual Frameworks

It is pertinent in testing the concepts of recovery against the empirical material presented in the thesis to revisit the conceptual frameworks examined in chapter two (Gaillard & Cadag, 2009, Figure 3, p. 18; Kenney & Phibbs, 2015, Figure 4, p. 25). In briefly recapping this framework, the basis of its schema is that disasters push marginalised societies towards further marginalisation. Addressing this marginalisation entails identifying their pre-disaster

vulnerabilities which can be identified in the aforementioned natural, human, social, physical, financial and political resources.

The livelihoods framework can thus be discerned in respect of the context and findings of the 1931 earthquake. For instance, Te Whanganui-a-Orotū comprises a natural resource. Yet classifying it solely as such within the livelihoods framework does not adequately encapsulate its value. The innate cultural and spiritual significance of Te-Whanganui-a-Orotū cannot be bound by the conventional framework. In this respect, the fundamental limitation of the livelihoods framework is its lack of cultural context. It is unclear whether a given cultural context can be adequately encapsulated within the livelihoods framework. The framework as schematised may potentially skew the recovery process through an over-emphasis on a single resource.

It is not possible for mana to be adequately incorporated within the livelihoods framework. Mana in respect of kinship has both inward and outward forces which cannot be schematised within the framework by Gaillard and Cadag (2009).

Continuity and Change

The limited scope of participants who contributed to this thesis does not allow for remarks to be made on Māori of Hawke's Bay at large. Remarks may therefore be confined sensibly to the Ahuriri tribes, in light of the 1931 earthquake; and the Māori cohort of Whakatū, in light of the 1986 Works closure. It is evident in both case studies for the desire of Māori communities to retain fundamental elements of tradition and of spirituality in the face of present-day life. In that respect, it is suggested that such elements are the motivating forces of everyday life. They can therefore be regarded as markers of continuity, where the maintenance of social and communal links assures that the recovery is carried out appropriately and in the best possible manner (Masten & Obradovic, 2008; Henry, 2011).

Patterns of continuity and change can be discerned obviously in the case study of the Works closure. The disruption brought about by unexpected job loss necessitated a series of changes in order that the lives and livelihoods of the communities affected could be appropriately re-established. The development and implementation of Whakatū 2020 serves as a marker of continuity, whereby the sense of purpose and communal belonging which motivated the former

meat workers is emulated with the intention of passing down such values to the following generations (D. Ratima, personal communication, February 9, 2018).

Māori Spirituality and Epistemological Evolution

A mention on disasters in the context of religion and spirituality cannot be overlooked, particularly in respect of their traditional significance within Māori as well as other Polynesian cultures. It doubtless that spirituality was, and is currently an essential element of a Māori world view. The consideration of today is the extent to which those elements are significant in peoples' everyday lives. In his study on the role of religion in Polynesian cultures, Buck (1939) intoned that 'the things man has created with his mind and worshiped in his spirit are as real to him as the material things he has made with his hands' (p. 94); and 'the belief in the supernatural and in the immortality of the soul must be accepted as real facts that have led to action and results' (p. 95).

I believe the essence of Buck's conviction remains true some eighty years after his study. Religion can be and is a compelling force which motivates the actions and decisions of those who abide by it. In times of adversity it can be a source of comfort. In that regard, religion becomes just as much part of a social fabric as culture and history are. My talks with Jerry Hapuku and Des Ratima affirm this somewhat. For Hapuku, the faith of his elders who lived through the 1931 earthquake shaped their own perspective on disaster, as well as providing an inward resolve to continue (personal communication, February 8, 2018). For Ratima, his Mormon faith was said to be a significant aspect in maintaining family togetherness; he told me that his family come together every Monday evening for worship and reflection (personal communication, February 9, 2018). Both examples indicate that religion is, at the least, a recognised aspect in their own everyday lives. Obviously they cannot be used to infer the religious motivations of the wider Hawke's Bay population, let alone of all Māori in Hawke's Bay.

If there is a shortcoming of Buck's philosophy, it is that it does not look beyond the realm of Western Judeo-Christianity. Gaillard and Texier (2010) note that one-sided viewpoints of this nature tend to skew disaster risk reduction approaches which aim to incorporate a religious

aspect within them. McGeehan and Baker (2017) meanwhile suggest that religious aspects in disaster studies are altogether under-investigated.

Bearing the findings of this thesis in mind, it is important to distinguish between spirituality in the ‘traditional’ Māori paradigm and the spirituality which today has largely intermixed with Christianity (Marsden, 2003a). In that distinction also comes, in my opinion, a terminological difference between religion and spirituality. A theologian may lend a greater authority to this matter. However I believe that clarity in the context of this thesis is warranted: I take spirituality to include values which are not bound by a particular religion. Whereas religion is the overarching system of faith to which a person chooses to abide. The latter definition is in Buck (1958, p. 431).

I believe that as much as ‘Māori spirituality’, and by that I mean the conceptions of life and the environment (Marsden, 2003b) as it was prior to the introduction of Christianity to Māori, values such as wairua, tapu, and mana are in the first place spiritual. They transcend the bounds of conventional religion. The widespread adoption of Christianity by Māori has invariably seen fit to align the spiritual values with what are more universally familiar perspectives on faith (Shirres, 1986). To that end their application in everyday life may be underpinned by some influence of ‘religion’, but their fundamental principles have not changed. Considering the era in which Buck’s study was made, there cannot be a truly objective comparison between the perspectives of the present and the conditions of the past. In that light, both religion and spirituality will continue to transform as those who abide by it see fit.

Mana in the Management Spaces

It is reasonable to suggest that the complexity of cultural values and principles such as mana somewhat limit their widespread recognition. This section demonstrates however that attempts are being made in order that a general understanding of Māori concepts and their significance can be achieved. The following two accounts are outside the intended scope of this thesis. Material of this nature would normally be appended at the end of the thesis, yet their inclusion here is such that they warrant a brief examination in light of the understandings established on the role of mana and recovery.

The first incidental finding is a newspaper article concerning the condition of Te Waihora, or Lake Ellesmere, located in the Canterbury region of the South Island, New Zealand. Its cultural significance is similar to Te Whanganui-a-Orotū in that it was an historic kete kai, providing sustenance for the tribes who used it (McCrone, 2018). Also, much like Te Whanganui-a-Orotū, food stocks of Te Waihora were diminished through pollution. In efforts to restore the environmental integrity of Te Waihora, a number of co-operative schemes have been devised. Te Ao Hou, the scheme of relevance, was agreed upon in 2010. The scheme is to construct a canal connecting Te Waihora to a neighbouring estuary outlet thus channelling into the ocean. It has been complicated by conflicting tribal interests concerning distinct parts of the lake (McCrone, 2018). It is suggested, for instance, actions which enhance the mana of one tribal locality would come at the detriment to another:

It is being pointed out that the Te Ao Hou project would have brought great mana to the Waiwera rūnanga's side of the lake. ... However, this would spell out an equal loss of mana for the Te Taumutu rūnanga which occupies the southern shore of Waihora, 25km down the Kaitorete Spit at Fishermans Point, where the traditional lake opening has always been.

(McCrone, 2018)

Although not an issue related directly to disaster recovery, the condition of Te Waihora and the implications of its associative management schemes on the mana of the tribes who live nearby is of cursory relevance given the exploration of mana undertaken by this thesis. The prospective co-governance of Te Waihora has attracted the attention of iwi, councils, and academics (McCrone, 2018).

The second finding is an undated blurb on the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) website (n.d.) concerning a case study titled 'A vision for a restored Te Whanganui-a-Orotū'. The previous chapter presented perspectives of Te Whanganui-a-Orotū in the context of this thesis. In the context of the NPM case study, it is suggested that restoring Te-Whanganui-a-Orotū principally entails realising the contributions that tāngata whenua have to offer towards management plans concerning the harbour. The scientific approaches to the study would be made by a range of Crown Research Institutes with collective expertise in environmental management. The study

has also sought to involve local school students who have assisted with field work (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, n.d.). Such is the intention of the study that restoring Te Whanganui-a-Orotū to again be a viable cultural and food source similarly aligns with the conceptions made in the previous chapter about a recovery of mana.

Both of these examples serve to highlight the space in which mana may operate, along with potential complications when there are a range of stakeholders concerned with the issue at hand. It reinforces the notion of kinship and its relation to mana. In both cases it is suggested that the mana of the people is associated with the mana of either Te Waihora or Te Whanganui-a-Orotū. Conversely, a recovery of the respective resources implies a subsequent recovery of mana. Ultimately there is too little space to comment extensively on these findings. Their presence in the public realm may serve to generate an interest in mana, and they provide an altogether different perspective on recovery at large.

Conclusion

In the field of disaster studies, incorporating a greater range of perspectives in understanding disasters is an issue of relevant and timely concern. With a focus on recovery, this thesis has attempted to document and substantiate Māori perspectives of recovery through a case study of Hawke's Bay. Achieving this has required adopting a culturally and epistemologically sound approach that appropriately accounts for the perspectives offered, on the basis of their own merits, and in their contributions to understanding disaster recovery at large.

The initial motive behind this thesis was the relative lack of available Māori perspectives concerning the 1931 earthquake. It was on these bases that the need to design a study that made for a culturally-rich approach, yet stand up to academic rigours emerged. There is a rallying cry of sorts in the field of indigenous studies that research approaches within such a space must challenge the bounds of convention. For this thesis, it is suggested that its very novelty is grounds enough for challenging those bounds.

Further to that aspect came the incidental but now well-bedded case study of the 1986 Works closure in the context of this thesis. Its inclusion has proved worthy in giving stature to the idea that disasters have social and economic bases which are just as significant as the established convention of disasters being typically associated with natural hazard events.

The contextual setting of the Hawke's Bay region has set an interesting backdrop to studying disaster recovery. There is no doubt that the present-day character of the region is defined largely by the 1931 earthquake. Through the field work it became evident that much was being done to preserve the records and the accounts of those who experienced the earthquake. The importance of capturing these records becomes crucial with each passing year as the number of survivors unfortunately diminishes.

The Māori perspectives of recovery explored in the thesis serve to reinforce the conceptual basis that capturing the enduring nature of recovery requires firstly an examination of the events within an appropriate cultural context. The perspectives here are not intended as a

complete record, though it is hoped that they make a worthy account of presenting some of the motives of Māori in the face of adversity, with the added thought that they may substantiate concepts of a Māori world view, advancing their wider recognition in disaster studies in New Zealand.

Limitations and Future Studies

The theoretical contributions of this thesis are such that they inevitably traverse a range of academic disciplines. For instance, a theologian may better express the spiritual values within a Māori world view and within mana. A sociologist may better discern the complexities within the social, cultural and political arrangements of communities affected by disaster. Although a limitation in the sense that these areas of expertise would certainly enhance the research, the geographer has a role in outlining the interdisciplinary concerns of such studies in order that they might compel further research.

Time and logistic constraints meant the scope of participants whose discussions contributed to the thesis is relatively small. In some respects this was advantageous to the overall approach of the study. Among the participants were kaumātua, who are valuable repositories of cultural knowledge and are held in high esteem by their respective communities. More time was spent with them, allowing for a closer and intensive discussion, whereas diluting the pool of participants may not have uncovered some of the insights mentioned here. It is an important consideration to make, particularly with the base of Māori cultural knowledge and history resting in the spoken word. Accessing it is not always straightforward, and in nearly all instances it is aided when there is an opportunity to achieve a closer level of understanding.

It is nevertheless appropriate to acknowledge that a more rigorous study should incorporate a greater scope of participants. This is particularly important in light of such a broad, all-encompassing subject.

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